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CANADA THE WAR & AFTER

Study Outlines
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LIVE AND LEARN BOOKS

CANADA

THE WAR & AFTER

BY

W. E. C. HARRISON

NEIL M. MORRISON

R. G. ANGLIN

J. F. PARKINSON

PAUL M. LIMBERT

INTRODUCTION BY

JOSEPH McCULLEY

Headmaster, Pickering College, Newmarket

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THE RYERSON PRESS ~ TORONTO

*Issued by the Young Men's Committee,
National Council, Y.M.C.A.'s.*

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This book has been prepared by a special sub-committee of the National Young Men's Committee of the Y.M.C.A.'s in Canada.

JOHN M. MAGWOOD

D. CARLTON WILLIAMS

FRANK DINGMAN

NEIL M. MORRISON

JOHN W. HOLMES

MURRAY G. ROSS

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PREFACE

THE publication of *Canada: The War and After* marks both a response to a demand and an act of faith.

The demand sprang directly out of the generous welcome accorded our past publication, *We Discuss Canada*. Addressed primarily to the needs of study groups in local Associations, it met nevertheless with a warm welcome in other quarters. Study groups in churches, labour and farm organizations, army camps and air force stations, not only bought the entire first edition, but made reprinting necessary. A second venture was clearly indicated.

In making that second venture we were guided by expressions of opinion that individual readers and professional and non-professional leaders of groups were kind enough to pass on to us. Praise and criticism were equally welcome and received the most careful consideration. Some disappointment, for instance, had been expressed at the omission from our first book of any specific reference to the rôle of the Christian in a world at war. Dr. Limbert's article in this book is intended both to meet that criticism, and to implement the Committee's feeling that many Christians need to re-think their convictions and obligations in the light of changed social conditions. Christian principles do not change. The manner of their application in a war-torn world is neither easy nor obvious.

The act of faith consists in our raising at this time certain basic issues for discussion. We do not believe that morale can be engendered or maintained among free men if it is based on a spurious uniformity of opinion. Morale in a democracy springs directly out of a firm conviction that we are all fighting for clearly-defined and democratically-agreed-upon objectives. Such clarity of definition and wide-spread agreement can be reached only by full, free and open discussion. To raise and sharpen the questions is then an act of faith in the democratic process itself, an act of faith in the use of democratic means to democratic ends.

It is also insurance against a repetition of "winning the war and losing the peace." The Government cannot, in a democracy, proceed very far ahead of public opinion, and if those who represent Canada at the peace-table are to make use of the wisdom the inter-war years should have given them, they will need to have behind them an intelligent and well-grounded public opinion. To the formation of such a public opinion, then, this volume is modestly dedicated.

We are, of course, deeply indebted to the authors whose generous contributions make up this book: Mr. R. G. Anglin, Professor W. E. C. Harrison, Dr. Paul Limbert, Professor J. F. Parkinson, and Mr. Neil Morrison of our own Committee. We are indebted, too, to Mr. A. J. McKenna of the Wartime Information Board for permission to reproduce pictograms from a publication of his department. Our thanks, too, go to Mr. Max Cohen and Mr. Jack Seeley who helped in the work of editing and organization; and to the others, too numerous to mention, who helped by criticism, advice, or in other ways.

Comments on *Canada: The War and After* and suggestions regarding further publications will be warmly welcomed. Communications should be addressed to the Young Men's Committee, National Council of Y.M.C.A.'s of Canada, 21 Dundas Square, Toronto.

MURRAY G. ROSS,

*Secretary for Adult Programme,
National Council of Y.M.C.A.'s of Canada.*

INTRODUCTION

IN THE intensity of the effort to wage an all-out war, it is vitally important to maintain a sense of true values. In the mind of any sane man there can be no doubt that we are fighting for our lives—for the survival of those institutions, those practices and that way of life which we deem to be worthy of man's highest nature. In this sense we are fighting for our souls. While bending every effort, therefore, to bring the war to a successful conclusion, we should remember that there are other duties which are of equal importance. It would be folly to win the war in a military sense and then to discover, after all the effort and sacrifices, that we had nothing left to save. It is important then, even in the midst of war, in spite of the war—perhaps because of the war—to make certain that the fundamental values on which our civilization is based should be maintained intact. It is also incumbent upon us to determine, even now, that when the military struggle is over, such a peace shall be formulated as will ensure the transmission of those values to successive generations. It is one of the purposes of this book to indicate in detail what are those values which we believe to be of sufficient importance to justify the present struggle.

There has been criticism of those who have been spending time considering the shape of the post-war world. Such criticism is not valid. It is only as we keep in view broad outlines of a just, humane, and Christian settlement that we can call upon all our citizens to make the sacrifices that such a struggle entails.

To win the war—to maintain and strengthen the fundamental principles of our democratic way of life—to ensure the transmission of those values to subsequent generations—these three tasks are of equal and paramount importance, and they should not be dissociated from each other.

A year ago the Young Men's Committee of the National Council of the Y.M.C.A.'s in Canada issued a study outline entitled

We Discuss Canada. It met with an unexpectedly generous response. There were demands for a sequel, and this book is the result of those demands. An effort has been made in the articles brought together here to provide factual information on a number of topics which are much to the fore in current discussion. From this point of view the book differs from its predecessor, which was more narrowly a series of discussion outlines. The Committee believes that information is here brought together which is not readily available in other places. It is hoped that it may serve a wide variety of purposes in widely divergent groups. It should be of as much value to young men in the armed services as to those remaining in essential tasks in civilian life. It has been the desire of the Committee to present clearly, issues which must be faced frankly if we are to understand the present struggle, and to bring it through to a victorious and satisfactory conclusion.

JOS. McCULLEY,
Headmaster,

*Pickering College,
Newmarket, Ontario.*

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Canada: The War and After

CHAPTER I

THE ISSUES AT STAKE

PART A

THE SITUATION WE FACE

I AM GIVEN a few thousand words. I am asked to say why we are at war, why we are so painfully engaged in a bitter struggle for life, the outcome of which now hangs desperately in the balance, the winning of which will exact from us all some further heavy toll of hardship, anxiety, agony and death, and leave long scars upon many a mind, many a family.

We are not in a mood to glorify our situation. We do not regard the slaughter of men, the burning of cities, the drowning of ships, nor impoverishment, starvation and disease as anything other than cruel and unnecessary horrors. As Professor Tawney has said of the people of Britain: "We are fighting, not in spite of our hatred of war, but because of it." For us, members of a Christian and a democratic community, war is a negation of our most cherished beliefs. We look upon it with loathing. Why, then, have we engaged in it? We have not been taught, as the unfortunate slaves of Fascism have been taught, that in war man finds his greatest opportunities for self-sacrifice, and the nation the fullest realization of its potentialities and its capacity for power. We have preferred to discover our fulfilment in the quieter and not less ennobling processes of peace. We have been better able to keep fresh in our minds the memory of the human wastage of war, its barbarism, its mutilations, spiritual as well as physical. With the freedom to speak about such things, we have come to the conclusion that war can no longer be regarded as a normal manifestation, but only as a calamity for all the peoples involved, whether directly

or indirectly: for no people can escape the effects of war, however remote from them it may seem to be.

Herein lies the most serious of our differences with Fascism. Herein lies not the weakness but the strength of our position. We fight passionately against war and the intolerable burdens it brings to ordinary folk. It follows that when we have settled our account with the war-makers, we must then wrestle with those conditions in the world which make war possible.

Taking this double set of aims, the winning of victory and the keeping of the peace as the basic issues at stake, I shall endeavour within the brief compass of my space to suggest the nature of those things which the youth of our country ought plainly to have set before them.

THE NATURE OF FASCISM

The nature of Fascism is reactionary. It is a reaction from those great forces which, during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, threatened to wrest power from autocrats and small groups and give it to the people. Fascism arose as a doctrine of fear. Its devotees were afraid of the people. In all those progressive movements which in 1919 appeared to have reached a climax in the history of freedom, the Fascists saw not the awakened hope of the oppressed, but the upsurge of ideas dangerous to order, disturbing to property, menacing privilege and threatening the power which resided with the few.

Democracy appeared to the Fascists as a process of disintegration, Liberalism as the pre-condition of anarchy, Socialism as merely "the sentimental aspiration towards a social order in which the sufferings and the pains of the humblest folk could be alleviated." All alike in the eyes of the Fascists suffered from common weaknesses. These doctrines were too humane; they were international; they placed too much emphasis upon a common humanity, and not enough upon nationalism and the tribe. They were the vessels of human kindness. The Fascists preferred the vials of wrath. The friends of liberty stressed the infinite possibilities of reasonableness. Fascism stressed force. The friends of liberty

postulated equality as an assumption upon which all men might advance beyond the limits of their station and their circumstance, and all might be given that wise safeguard against the dangers of political frustration—the vote. For Fascists the ballot-box was an infernal-machine filled with the explosive aspirations of the mob.

THE FALLACY OF FASCISM

Such opposing views run through every point of principle, through every practice. According to Fascism, Democracy, by equating the nation to the majority, lowers it to the level of that majority (as if the majority were an unchanging element, and not one which waxes and wanes as a free nation focuses its views to a changing situation). Yet Mussolini, haunted by the validity of the democratic position, could claim, nevertheless, that Fascism “is the purest form of democracy if the nation is conceived as the most powerful idea which acts within the nation as the conscience and the will of a few, even of One.” Hence Fascism defies the majority and the rule of argument and persuasion, and forcibly substitutes the rule of a single group—the Party, and of a single individual—the Dictator. In other words, Fascism by equating the nation to a political clique, lowers it to the level of a Mussolini.

“The Fascist State,” says its chief apologist, “takes over all the forms of the moral and intellectual life of man.” We have no intention of surrendering ourselves in mind and in spirit to any band of unscrupulous adventurers calling themselves the Fascist State. The fallacy of Fascism is exposed the moment its loud-sounding nothings, its pseudo-mysticism, are seen for what they are: the apologetics of a fanatical sect of counter-revolutionaries. Despising the people, and afraid of them, they demand “to remake, not the forms of human life, but its content, man, character, faith.” To this end they require “discipline and authority that can enter into the spirits of men and there govern, unopposed.” It is of the essence of this spiritual tyranny that it should thus reject the possibility of opposition as a feature of political life too dangerous to be allowed.

CRITICISM—THE CONDITION OF PROGRESS

Fascism thus admits its vulnerability, being too unsure of itself to suffer the voice of criticism to be heard. Here is a profound and damning weakness. For criticism, vigilant, searching and unceasing, is the condition of progress, society's safety-valve, the spur to statesmanship, a vital gland in a living body-politic. This cardinal fact is fully recognized in the parliamentary states which are so sure of themselves that they can allow opposition and yet not so sure of themselves that they can do without it. They claim no absolutes. They are unwilling to subscribe to the irrational proposition, never justified in human experience, that any man or group of men can have an unchallengeable claim to political omniscience.

In embattled Britain today the necessity for preserving the very identity of the nation holds together all parties in the state and the mass of its citizens in a solid phalanx of resistance under the leadership of Mr. Churchill. Yet as men and women in the onset of danger are moved by a spirit which transcends the instinct for personal survival, so democratic aspiration and the moral purpose of a civilized community, even in its hour of dire peril, range beyond the mere saving of skins. The question rises insistent as to the uses of that victory for which the ordinary folk of England are prepared to pay so costly and so painful a price. There has surely never been before in history a quest more earnest or more general for the greater ends in view. Nor has there ever been, in the face of such frightful peril, a more generous regard for that liberty of expression in speech and the written word wherewith the British people strive to resolve their difficulties.

It is in this great practice of debate, this cherished right of free criticism, that democratic principles as the British have applied them, demonstrate their supreme validity over the barbarous negations of Fascism. "I venture to think," writes Professor Laski, "that no people in our situation has ever left utterance so unfettered. Not least is this the case in British universities; Communist teaching and Pacifist teaching have alike their active

and unpenalized votaries. . . . I have sat in common rooms with teachers who have not hesitated to proclaim their faith that war is contrary to the mandate of Christ. . . . Those who oppose this war can hold their meetings, print their manifestos, run, if they choose, for Parliament. A war for freedom and democracy is being conducted by the methods of freedom and democracy."

There is no surer foundation for the democratic intent of the British people than in their preservation of this, their most characteristic freedom, nor any more powerful proclamation of their democratic good faith. It is a triumph which history will always remember that rational discussion has been so miraculously continued in a moment when the portals of the state are being battered by the enemy. That debate must go on, for victory has its hazards and peace its disasters no less than war. It is the course of wisdom that we, too, should be preparing ourselves now for that difficult campaign which will begin at the moment of armistice, and the winning of which will be an obligation to our dead and a trust for our children. It is a supreme achievement of the democratic view of life that the freedom openly to examine our views has been preserved to us in such an hour.

THE PSYCHOSIS OF ACTION

It may be recalled that when Mussolini first determined to overthrow the existing régime in Italy he had no specific theories, or doctrinal plan. His doctrine was a doctrine of action. The terms have often been bandied about since. Every Fascist movement has sought to catch adherents by promising them action. Action became a shibboleth with them. They were consumed with a blind desire to be led into action for action's sake, violently, intolerantly, stupidly. It was like an obsession for speed, direction or destination mattering nothing. If I am able to define it, action meant beating-up their critics, shooting their opponents, marching, saluting, making revolution. Fascism, as Mussolini describes it, was "a movement against all parties." It warred on everything that was not itself; and in that considerable part of the nation

opposed to the Fascists was Labour. "We must go forward in opposition to Labour," said Mussolini. "We want to accustom the working classes to being under a leader."

This was a tragic thing for the Italian people, and for other peoples, too, since the "dogmatic negations" of Fascism have spread their poison in other lands. The tragedy of it was that the psychosis of action could not be controlled. The same thing happened in both Italy and Germany. The Fascist and Nazi movements had first to conquer their own peoples. This they did partly by whipping them up into a frenzy of nationalistic passion, and partly by silencing all opposition through physical cruelty and psychological terror. The initial victory at home created the expectation and the necessity of other victories abroad, violence begetting violence, and tyranny, according to an historic pattern, demanding a continuing series of triumphs to sustain it. "Above all," as Mussolini tried to teach his unwilling and unwarlike Italians, "Fascism believes neither in the possibility nor in the utility of perpetual peace. A doctrine therefore, which begins with a prejudice in favour of peace, is foreign to Fascism." Here by contrast with the peaceful aspirations of the democracies was perhaps merely a statement of political realism. If this were realism, it was to lead the Italian people into some very horrible realities.

FASCISM MEANS WAR

Fascism, then, is a doctrine of conquest. It must first conquer the State. It must then lead that State to the conquest of others. Within the State itself it shows a party, a faction, an organized minority imposing its will upon the nation. Having seized power by violence, and denying all right to take issue with it, the party tyranny is removable only by violence. The only change, the only end to it must come by revolution and all its grim accompaniment of hate and horror. Internationally, Fascism means war. "For Fascism," to quote another admission of Mussolini, "the tendency to Empire, that is to say, to the expansion of nations, is a manifestation of vitality; its opposite, staying at home, is a sign of decadence."

Those who determine that a nation shall tread the stony path of aggressive adventure are not the people. Left to themselves, without having driven into them the Fascist belief in war, the people might wish to stay at home, decadent though dictators might think them for preferring to plough their fields, to play their games, to strive for better conditions in their homes and factories, to criticize themselves, to work for improvement, to be happy. It is a difficult thing and a slow process for a Democracy to persuade itself to do what it most hates doing, to go to war. The Fascists must then deny the people the right to debate these great issues. These things must be decided for them by a higher power. There is in all this a tendency to confuse the functions and the identity of Dictator and Deity. "The people," according to the Fascist tenet, "must receive light and guidance from that high place where is to be found the complete vision of rewards, tasks, functions and merits, and where the only guidance is in the general interest." Is this politics or theology? Who occupies that seat of all wisdom—Hitler, Mussolini, God? Or do the Dictators not condescend to share it?

THE NAZI CONTRIBUTION OF RACE HATRED

It was evident before the Fascist States struck at the first of their victims that such acts of war must follow from the nature of their system as their leaders had proclaimed it in their respective testaments. There was one element, however, in the Nazi variation which took up the challenge to the rest of mankind in still more strident tones. There had been lacking in Italian Fascism any appeal to racial hatred. The devotees of authoritarianism in Italy were content to hate other nations, and to leave the detestation of humanity as a whole to the worshippers of Hitler. "Race," said Mussolini, "it is an emotion, not a reality; ninety-five per cent. of it is emotion." For Hitler race hatred is a fundamental article of faith, all history a primeval struggle of race against race. Just as the Italian Fascists affirm ". . . the irremediable, fruitful and beneficent inequality of men," so the fevered brain of Hitler conceived the nightmare of racial superiority for the Germans.

All human advancement, according to this evil vision, is an outcome of a jungle war of races. The fittest are the Germans, bearers of the torch of the superior Aryan culture—a torch which they are also not unwilling to use for the purposes of arson.

THE NAZI CULT OF SADISM

This nasty creed was first worked out on the persons of those German citizens who had the terrible distinction of being Jews. But along with them, qualified to suffer as opponents, though not as non-Aryans, were all the hosts of those other Germans who were social-democrats, liberals, communists, pacifists, internationalists, leaders of labour, writers, professors, practising and outspoken Christians. Alike with the Jews they were beaten into submission. They lost their jobs, their livelihood was taken away, they were victimized, they were murdered. Those surviving were put to every kind of torture, the torture of fear, the torture of anxiety, the excruciating torture that makes men shriek, the secret, repeated torture that is endlessly dragged out and breaks men's spirits.

Nothing that the Nazis could do thereafter was able to blot out the frightful display of their brutality to fellow-Germans. They might attempt to dazzle the world with the brilliantly lighted spectacle of a resurgent and powerful nation of heiling, hysterical crowds, of rallies, of swastikas, of marching men. But behind all this and pointing its significance were the dark places, hidden from view, the concentration camps, the numberless cells of suffering and fear and desperation that ached and festered underneath the triumphant surfaces of Nazi domination.

Yet here was only a beginning. The German victims of the Nazi terror were only the first few millions, Jews and Gentiles together, of the wretched inhabitants of Europe, from whom the Nazi theory of power and of race was to exact its horrid tribute. As in its Italian manifestation, the Fascist evil grew outwards, extending itself into neighbouring countries, for which, by the same definition of neighbourhood, mere distance was no bar or protection. The truth of the matter is that when a crime so bloody and sadistic

could be perpetrated in one country, the moral foundations of all other countries were shaken. No other single phenomenon in the history of the world since the death of Christ constituted so powerful a denial of the universality of the Christian doctrine as when Hitler reaped the whirlwind of Aryan mastery. Here was a new paganism setting forth its bloody denial of Christian equality. Those who have witnessed this thing are apt to ponder again the words of Saint Paul: "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus."

THE NAZI DOCTRINE

The Nazi doctrine contradicts this Christian principle of the brotherhood of man; it runs clean contrary to any such conception as the guiding principle of a world order. The Nazi idea of world order is one in which the "inferior" races, the slave peoples, are to be ruled by Teutonic masters, by rod and by rack. The natural qualities of non-Germans are so limited that they must remain perpetually inferior to the Germans. They can have no other future than to perform the heavy manual tasks allotted to those who have fallen serfs to a more powerful and gifted race. Already the Nazis are bringing their hateful system into operation. Already their fields and factories are worked by the forced labour of hundreds of thousands of captured foreign slaves. The Germans have brought back into the world a conception of conquest deriving from the more primitive conditions of warfare in ancient times. The Nazis wage war for land and slaves for ever to be held in their possession, without hope of freedom or escape so long as the Teutonic arm shall retain its strength.

There is no need for intelligence among the conquered peoples, for thought is like dynamite and dangerous to the conqueror. The peoples who have lost their freedom must work, not think. Their intellectual life must be cut off. Their minds must be drugged with the beliefs of Nazidom. Their schools must be controlled or closed, their teachers intimidated or martyred, their universities silenced, their professors destroyed. Wherever speech is free,

wherever the voice of independent leadership can make itself heard, there the Gestapo is sent, and writer, lecturer, publisher and preacher are silenced. Since learning inspires leadership, there shall be no more learning. Nowhere has this policy been more ruthlessly practised than in Czechoslovakia, and in enforcing it against the citizens of that most intelligent democracy the Nazis have omitted nothing from their armoury of cruelty. In lecture-halls where once the message of freedom was heard, now silence broods. It is the silence of death. Elsewhere their intention is the same. If they have allowed education to go on, they have applied their ugly methods to distort the purpose of the educators. There can be only one justification for the educational process in a German world: it must teach conformity to the Nazi creed.

THE FATE OF CANADA

All these things have a terrible significance for Canada. Deny us the principle of racial equality and we cease to exist as a nation. According to Hitler, the end of the State is the maintenance of the racial characteristics of the community. "States which do not serve this end are delusions, veritable abortions." This argument Hitler brought to bear against Czechoslovakia, to drive wedges between its Czechs, Germans, Slovaks and Ruthenes, with intent to force its disintegration. This was merely a convenient weapon to use against a state which, even if it had been one hundred per cent. racially unified, would have been no less obnoxious to the man who meant to destroy it. By the same argument, the British State is a "delusion," a "veritable abortion." There are Welshmen in it, and Irishmen, and Scots, and the English themselves are a mongrel breed, sprung from Celts and Saxons, Normans, Danes and heaven knows what rabble of races besides.

Hitler's attack upon Czechoslovakia was an attack upon us all. As an act of war, it threw Canada into jeopardy. But as a blow struck against the principle of a State composed of many nationalities it imperilled Canada more than most, for our racial origins are more mixed than those of the people of Czechoslovakia. Our

national existence depends upon the fusion and the co-operation of a great many diverse elements. We have one hundred and twenty-two thousand Indians. There are three and a half millions of us whose ancestors came from France. There are five and a half millions whose ancestors came from the British Isles. Nearly two and a half millions derive from other European nationalities. We have among our numbers people from every national group in Europe. There are six hundred thousand Germans, three hundred thousand Ukrainians, a hundred and seventy thousand Jews, a hundred and fifty thousand each of Poles and Netherlands, a hundred thousand each of Norwegians and Italians. We have eighty thousand Swedes, sixty thousand Russians, two groups of fifty thousand each of Magyars and Finns. We have Danes and Czechs and Slovaks. We have Rumanians and Icelanders. We have Yugoslavs and Greeks. Nor does this exhaust the nationalities who have come to us from Europe. We have also Asiatics contributing to our national life, of whom forty-six thousand are of Chinese origin, and twenty-three thousand of Japanese. There are twenty thousand Negroes. Inject the Nazi doctrine of race into this association of peoples, and all our hopes for Canada dissolve into anarchy! The very condition of our national life depends, therefore, on a positive genius for international co-operation, as well within the borders of our own country as beyond them. Better for us to reject Hitler and return to Saint Paul! The tasks before us are difficult enough, but we still believe that we shall find a better solution for them in the principles of mutual trust and tolerance than in the sickening alternatives of Teutonic mastery.

Hitler's theory of race is disastrous as a political doctrine. It is also quite without scientific validity. Where scientists are free to expound the facts as they find them, the theory has been easily exposed. It is a further illustration of the Nazi tyranny that where Himmler's secret police are the judges of "scientific thought," German scientists and historians who only hold their positions as sound Party men, must subscribe to Rosenberg's iron doctrine that "history and vocation consist in struggle between blood and blood, race and race, people and people." According to Hitler's

view, the German people, through cross-breeding, suffered from blood poisoning, and by thus contaminating its soul, lost "the domination of the world." But for this, the Germans might have given us all a true peace "founded upon the victorious sword of a ruling people, seizing the world in the interest of a higher civilization."

What a fate for Canada, which in Hitler's category of states is nothing more than a "delusion," a "veritable abortion!"

THE GENESIS OF NAZISM

The question may be raised why so terrible a régime came to be established over a people as intelligent as the Germans; why a doctrine so repugnant came to be accepted by a people so gifted and attractive as the Italians. The points in the answer are many. One reason is that the thing was forced upon these people. Another is that they were told that by surrendering their freedom to the black tyranny of Fascism, they would escape the red terror of Bolshevism. A third is that both these peoples, German and Italian, were ardently nationalist and easily responded, in a mood of despondency, to stirring appeals to their national pride. They were easily moved by a pageant of national prestige and power. A fourth reason may be borrowed from Mussolini. "It is symptomatic," he said, "that a people of high culture like the Germans should have been completely ignorant of the religion of liberty during the whole of the nineteenth century." There were moments when the people of Germany aspired to freedom, as in 1848, but the autocrats beat them and the onset of reaction produced a Bismarck.

But another and very important reason why the Republic of the German Social-Democrats fell to Hitler was the economic desperation which gave the Nazis their opportunity. The Germans were among the heaviest sufferers from the Great Depression, that appalling calamity, which brought ruin and despair to millions throughout the world. Depression itself was an international phenomenon both in its nature and its causes, an outcome of war

and the competitive nationalism which was so forbidding a characteristic of inter-war attitudes. The policies pursued by each self-regarding State merely hastened it along with all the rest towards political and economic chaos, and made hardship and privation, unemployment and distress, the common penalty which all must pay for this baleful reversion to the economics of the tribe. It was easy in such famine years for the false prophets of plenty and of power to win the allegiance of the desperate, the frustrated, the helpless, and to carry them along with promises to save them from neglect, to restore them, to give them work, to honour their labour, to raise them up again as the sinewy strength of a great nation. The Nazi cause won its multitudes of adherents by offering them a part to play in the tremendous drama of national resurrection. The lost men of an economy that had failed rallied in their thousands, and found usefulness and hope in the ranks of the Party, badged and booted, mobilized for service to the Fatherland. Their manhood, their muscle, their brains were wanted at last!

It is scarcely surprising that elsewhere, in other countries, the general sense of insecurity, the wide-spread unemployment, the pitiful treatment meted out to the jobless, caused many a man to consider the claims of possible alternatives to the "nerveless democracy" in which he was an apathetic and hopeless outcast.

THE MENACE TO DEMOCRACY

It cannot be said that the peoples of the democratic States were very acutely aware how perilously close they drifted towards disaster. Challenged on every side, they still nourished the canker of social injustice, supported the most provocative contrasts of wealth and poverty, and safeguarded property with so much greater diligence than they did the welfare of men.

At the same time, some of those who feared that the sufferings being undergone by many of the citizens might turn them into Communists, themselves looked to Fascism as the self-advertising preventive of that very disease. They saw in Mussolini a guarantor

against something worse. His crimes they forgot. His threats they dismissed as bombast. His ambitions they could buy off with gifts out of Africa. They believed Hitler when he proclaimed himself the saviour of Western civilization from the threat of Bolshevism. Not all his lies, nor his bloody rôle as the destroyer of all that was civilized in his own country, could dispel that strange illusion from the minds of those whose hatred of Soviet Russia blinded them to the threatening nature of a tyranny nearer home, and infinitely more capable of tearing them in pieces. Fascism to them was full of the attractions of words: authority, discipline, hierarchy, order. They did not perceive these things as they were plainly revealed, as an order of serfdom, a discipline of terror, a hierarchy of blackguards, the authority of a madman. Nor did they comprehend the hard lot of those who had fallen for such persuasions in the Fascist countries. They did not see that the destiny of the industrialists who financed Fascism was to become its prisoners or its exiles. They did not understand that the fate of the millions who looked to Fascism for work would be to find it—mixed with death—in torrid Libya or on the freezing plains of Russia. There was work, indeed, for all of them as the jailors of free men, and the agents of a hatred more bitter, more universal than any before in the history of human relations.

This is the tragedy of Fascism in all its immensity. It has ended, as the clearest thinkers of the democracies foresaw that it must, in destruction, pulling down with it into the fiery furnace of a world war both devotees and innocents alike in their hundreds of millions.

RESURGENT DEMOCRACY

There is, however, a great and positive good coming forth from this welter of evil. Some of the democratic peoples, until we can rescue them, have lost that precious initiative to help themselves which is the very essence of the democratic way. Britain, that ancient seat of liberty, and habitation of free men, has survived only by the most heroic efforts on the part of all the inhabitants of their battered and beleaguered island. There were always strenu-

ous spokesmen in Britain for the oppressed whenever there was a cry that liberty had been withheld. Never have even the enemies of the State lacked for defenders among the British. Today, under the shock and strain of the great struggle in which they have pledged themselves to go on to the end, the British people have held fast to their habit of outspoken self-criticism. They are examining the conditions under which they have lived, testing those conditions with reference to a positive and dynamic democracy, no longer satisfied by the easy-going compromises, the blindness of the past. A social revolution has already taken place in Britain. As a democracy Britain is better and stronger than she was when she declared war on Nazi aggression. Her social cohesion has astonished her friends and confounded her enemies. In many respects she has left the rest of us far behind. Now she looks forward with an exhilaration begotten of a common sacrifice to a final shedding of those internal contradictions of which many Britons have been ashamed, and which now all Britons are determined to eradicate. This spirit of democratic regeneration must make itself manifest in those other democracies, like ours, where the underprivileged, the unemployed, the insecure, the vast majority of us, have still to enjoy the benefits of a democracy as effective in practice as it is beneficent in theory. Until we get rid of our corrupt practices at elections, our spoils-system, our third-rate professional politicians, we shall continue to be in danger. As democrats we cannot claim so large a measure of success as would acquit us of a charge of betrayal of trust.

There is much to be done. Not the least important charge upon us is to fulfil our tasks as citizens as faithfully as hundreds of thousands of us are fulfilling them in the fighting services. If I were to be asked for a guide to democratic success, I should say: Let every man and woman be concerned with our public affairs, for in the end they are also our private and individual affairs. They are not remote from us. Their effects come close to our lives. As for international affairs, let us not assume that the responsibility is out of our hands. It must be admitted that, in the years before the war, we in Canada were all too willing to leave the great

decisions to others. When we felt, like so many people in Britain, that those decisions were the wrong ones (as at Munich), we were as ready as they to blame and to vilify the men to whose mistakes we had ourselves contributed through our own inertia and unwillingness to share the responsibility.

THE USES OF VICTORY

A foremost question in all our minds is whether we can build upon the ruins of war the enduring structure of an international order. This is a question for the answer to which I should not look abroad. The answer to it lies in our own willingness to commit ourselves to the maintenance of an international order. Our rôle as a member of the League of Nations was a sorry failure. We did nothing to discourage the makers of war. We avoided our commitments, being willing enough to lay the blame upon others. As for the future, Canada's contribution is limited only by the vigour with which her citizens demand of their representatives in Parliament and in Cabinet that we do not withdraw from continuing to take risks to preserve and to improve the more collective and co-operative world for which, at this moment, we are staking everything we have.

The words of Anthony Eden addressed to the people of Britain are no less relevant to the people of Canada.

We must have no illusion about the future, even after the war is won. To win the peace will be as hard a task as to win the war. We will need the same national unity at home. We will need something of the same spirit of self-denial and sacrifice. We will need true friendship between the nations who have fought as allies, if we are to win through. We are pledged to play our full part in building a peaceful, active international society.

We must go forward, then, with these issues in the mind of every one of us. The task is formidable, but the spirit in which we grapple with it is more formidable still. No one has stated our cause and our intention with more eloquence than President Roosevelt:

We of the United Nations have the technical means, the physical resources, and, most of all, the adventurous courage and the vision and the will that are needed to build and sustain the kind of world order which alone can justify the tremendous sacrifices now being made by our youth. But we must keep at it—we must never relax, never falter, never fear—and we must keep at it together.

We must maintain the offensive against evil in all its forms. We must work and we must fight to ensure that our children shall have and shall enjoy in peace their inalienable rights to freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, freedom from fear.

Only on those bold terms can this total war result in total victory.

There is a part in all this that each individual can play. The first step is to discover the issues at stake and to see that those whom we elect to govern in our name shall be as determined as we are that Canada shall not betray the generation for whom this war is not an end but a great beginning.

SOME QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. To what types and groups of people did Fascism appeal in Italy and in Germany? Under what conditions? How did these conditions arise?

2. How were those countries which retained their democratic form of government able to survive similar strains and stresses? It is said: "It can't happen here!" Could it? How? If not, why do you think it couldn't?

3. In what ways has the war against Nazism emphasized the relationship between the principles of democracy and the assumptions of Christianity? Is Nazism a denial of both? What circumstances led in Germany, or could lead here to such a loss of faith in either or both?

4. What positive contributions can we make as individuals to the improvement, and therefore to the strengthening of our own democracy? Our organized Christian institutions?

5. Examine some of the difficulties in the way of an effective system of international government. What positive contributions could Canada make to a more co-operative international order? Wherein have our past attitudes been defective in this respect? Need we make commitments to others of the United Nations in order to maintain the peace settlement when we have made it? What kinds of commitments? Why?

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PART B

THE WORLD WE FIGHT FOR

Why are we fighting?

Under present circumstances, the mere asking of that question may seem foolish. Supposedly, we all know why we're fighting. We hear the reasons repeated a hundred times a day—on the radio, in the papers, at the movies, in speeches and sermons, at home, at the office. Our leaders say, and we repeat, that we're fighting to resist aggression—to preserve our way of life—to defend the independence of our own and other nations—for freedom and democracy—to prevent the Germans and Japanese from controlling the world. These are the reasons that are usually given, and often rather uncritically accepted, without too close an enquiry into their meaning.

To many of us such answers have proved less than completely satisfying. In addition to knowing clearly what we are fighting *against*, we must have a burning faith in something worth fighting *for*. Without such a faith, and lacking an understanding of the basic issues involved in the present struggle, we may be unable to create those conditions that are essential if the evils we fight against are to be destroyed at all. The lack of such a dynamic faith may not be unconnected with the fact that the democracies have been kept on the defensive while the aggressors still hold the

initiative. Whether or not this is true, any failure fully to understand the real character of the war cannot but result in confusion and weakness in our councils, and inadequacy in our war effort.

An attempt, therefore, to define exactly what it is we are fighting for is no idle undertaking at this time. Nor is it unconnected with the immediate effort to secure a favourable military decision. For this war is more than just a war between nationalities, more than a question of "finishing what we didn't do last time by cleaning up on the Germans once and for all," more than a conflict between aggressors and non-aggressors. Nor is it an attempt to preserve the *status quo* against those who would upset it, or merely an attempt to suppress the "barbarities of totalitarianism." This war is part of a world-wide struggle for the future of civilization. Only if its character is fully understood is there any reasonable hope that its outcome will be favourable to the values we believe ourselves fighting for.

Reduced to its barest essentials, the issue at stake in the war is the triumph or destruction of Fascism. Obviously, before we can talk of positive aims, the negative one, that is, the destruction of Fascism, must be assumed. Before we take its destruction as our objective, however, it would perhaps be well to be very clear about what we mean by Fascism.

Fascism is neither something that happened by chance, nor the result of a "bad dream" that Adolf Hitler or his henchmen happened to have. Both Fascism and the war are the result of definite causes or trends in our society, and if we are not only to destroy Fascism, but to insure ourselves against its recurrence, we shall have to learn to understand exactly how it came into being. Some of the causes of Fascism were touched upon in the previous article and will therefore not be elaborated here.

Many people identified these trends and predicted war as the outcome, ten years or more ago. Little attention was paid to their prediction by the people of our country or the people of other countries, and the action which the far-seeing recommended was not taken in time to avoid the disaster of war. Actually, the war began eleven years ago with the invasion of Manchuria in 1931.

The spark there struck, which might then have been relatively easily extinguished, has now assumed the proportion of a prairie fire, enveloping more and more countries in its flame, and now burning fiercely in practically every corner of the globe.

That Fascism and war are inseparably connected was pointed out in the previous article. But the mere destruction of Hitlerism is not sufficient. Fascism grew out of the social situation present in many countries in the decade immediately following the first world war. If we are not merely to destroy a particular group of leaders in Germany and other countries, but to strike at the roots from which Fascism sprang, we must ensure that the social conditions following this war will not be similar to those that followed the last. If we are to do this we must identify our positive aims.

WE FIGHT FOR A FREE WORLD

One of the clearest statements of such positive aims was that voiced by Henry Wallace, Vice-President of the United States, at a meeting of the Free World Association in May, 1942. His speech, later reprinted and titled "The Century of the Common Man," rang like a clarion around the world.

The war, he said, was part of the march of freedom for the common man. "This is a fight between a slave world and a free world. Just as the United States in 1862 could not remain half slave and half free, so in 1942 the world must make its decision for a complete victory one way or the other." As Wallace further pointed out, this march of freedom is no new thing. It has its roots in history. Out of attempts to stop it or to reverse its direction have grown some of the most violent conflicts of the last century and a half.

As he so well said:

The march of freedom of the past one hundred and fifty years has been a long drawn-out people's revolution. In this great revolution of the people there were the American Revolution of 1775, the French Revolution of 1792, the Latin American Revolution of the Bolivarian era, the German Revolution of 1848, and the Russian Revolution of 1917. Each spoke for the common

man in terms of blood on the battlefield. Some went to excess. But the significant thing is that the people groped their way to the light. More of them learned to think and work together. The people's revolution aims at peace and violence, but if the rights of the common man are attacked, it unleashes the ferocity of a she-bear who has lost a cub. . . . The people are on the march toward an even fuller freedom than the most fortunate people of the earth have hitherto enjoyed. No Nazi counter-revolution will stop it. . . .

The march of freedom of which Henry Wallace speaks has to do not only with the traditional freedoms of speech, press, assembly, etc. Bound up with his conception is that of the freedom to be well-educated—not only to be able to read and write, but to be able to think—the freedom to learn by actual participation the art of self-government—and also freedom from that want of material and immaterial goods without which freedom itself cannot exist. Freedom from want bespeaks not only for *everyone, everywhere*, food to eat, clothes to wear, and houses to live in, but for *everyone, everywhere*, leisure to develop the arts of civilization and adequate means to make fruitful use of that leisure.

As he says again:

The people in their millennial and revolutionary march toward manifesting here on earth the dignity that is in every human soul, hold as their credo the four freedoms enunciated by President Roosevelt in his message to Congress on January 6th, 1941. These four freedoms are the very core of the revolution for which the United Nations have taken their stand. We who live in the United States may think there is nothing very revolutionary about freedom of religion, freedom of expression, and freedom from the fear of secret police. But when we begin to think about the significance of freedom from want for the average man, then we know that the revolution of the past one hundred and fifty years has not been completed either here in the United States, or in any nation in the world. We know that this revolution cannot stop until freedom from want has actually been attained. . . . The peace must mean a better standard of living for the common man, not merely in the United States and England, but also in India, Russia, China, and Latin America—not merely in the United Nations, but also in Germany and Italy and Japan.

Not only Mr. Wallace, but Mr. Wendell Willkie speaking in Chungking on his recent trip as emissary of the President, has given voice to what are unquestionably the aspirations of those millions in the United Nations whose blood, sweat, toil and tears

are, according to Mr. Churchill, the price of victory. Only on such a dynamic, democratic basis, according to the opinions of the leading statesmen of the great democracies, can the peoples of the United Nations be inspired. Only around such a faith can we reasonably hope to build a unity that will prove unbreakable in the face of the most shattering blows the Axis Powers are able to deliver. Only around war aims like these can we reasonably hope to organize the peoples of the conquered countries for resistance, and only around promises like these can we expect to rally the people of the aggressor nations themselves. Only thus can we secure their aid for the cause of freedom and their dedication to the defeat of Fascism everywhere.

The lines of division of this struggle for freedom cut across national boundaries. Germans and Italians have been among the most bitter opponents of Nazism and Fascism. A few nationals among our Allies, Quislings in every country, have been among its best friends. The reactionary governments of Austria, Franco Spain, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, the appeasers of Britain and Canada, the isolationists of America, to mention but a few, have stood four-square in the path of the people's revolution.

A WAR FOR WORLD POWER?

There are others, hardly less dangerous under present circumstances, who, while they see the danger of aggression to their own country, conceive the war merely as a struggle between nation and nation. They reject the idea that this is the people's war for freedom. They want to fight the Nazis by adopting the methods of the Nazis. Often occupying positions of privilege themselves, always distrustful of the common people, they fight against the extension of democracy by every means in their power. That hope of freedom and equality which inspires the efforts of the common man on the battlefields or in the factories, in Great Britain, in Soviet Russia, in China, in any of the embattled United Nations, constitutes, to the mind of this group, a danger that must be eliminated at any cost.

Typical, perhaps, of this viewpoint is a statement made by Mr. J. O. Downey in the United States. Mr. Downey's statement cannot readily be dismissed. Here is no irresponsible orator dealing thoughts off the top of his mind. Mr. Downey is a member of the personal staff of the Chairman of the Board of the General Motors Corporation in the United States. His speech was made in September, 1941. Mr. Downey is, presumably, a careful and responsible man, and his words should be carefully weighed. That he speaks not alone for himself, or at least that what he says would be endorsed by hundreds of persons with interests similar to his, goes without saying. We quote:

The present war is nothing but a fight for world control. Until a strong combination emerges, Anglo-Saxon, Axis, or what-not, there will be no peace in the world. Whichever combination emerges victor will have to exercise the strongest kind of military restraint or the world will fall into chaos. . . . The Anglo-Saxons are out to rule this world or get ruled. . . . The successful termination of the war must be followed by an armed Anglo-Saxon peace.

Apparently it makes no great difference in the view of Mr. Downey and those whom he represents, who wins—"Anglo-Saxon or Axis Powers"—as long as some set of Powers emerges with sufficient strength left "to exercise the strongest kind of military restraint." There can be little question in anyone's mind as to what persons and groups that kind of "strongest military restraint" would be used against.

Apparently he stands for the post-war re-establishment of those very conditions which produced the first world war, helped to produce the second, and which would inevitably ensure a third and fourth. Mr. Wallace's "century of the common man" is instead to be a century of Anglo-American imperialism. If the war against the Axis is to be won at all, it is to be won not for freedom and equality, but for privilege and wealth.

His dominant fear, like that of the enemies of freedom everywhere, is a panic fear of what Mr. Wallace has referred to as the "forward march of freedom for the common man." Mr. Downey is afraid of the kind of freedom and equality that may follow in

Germany upon the liberation of the people of that country from their present oppressors after an Allied victory. He says: "The eradication of communism and socialism from Europe may be exceedingly difficult and prolonged, although by no means as difficult as the destruction of Hitlerism." Apparently, not only would he deny the right of the people of Europe to choose their own form of government, but he suggests the necessity of overthrowing the government of our Ally, the U.S.S.R. The Soviet Republic, he says, must be purged of communism. That is the reward the Soviet Union would receive for its heroic effort in the common interest, if Mr. Downey and those of like mind with him succeed in taking over the reins of government in the United States, here, or in any other of the United Nations. But it is precisely this taking-over of the reins of government that Mr. Downey believes "Big Business" must accomplish, even if a civil war should be necessary for that purpose. As he so bluntly put it:

Here in the United States, we are fighting two wars; first an external war against aggressors, secondly a social war between the socialists and the free enterprisers. As first things must come first, all interests must unite to win the external war; then those opposed to fundamental change in the social and economic system should unite to oust the planners and socializers.

The three successive elections to office of Franklin D. Roosevelt in the United States does not seem to suggest that "those opposed to fundamental change in the social and economic system" are by any means in the majority there. No amount of name-calling can change the fact that the "planners and socializers" represent the desires and interests of a great majority of the American people. Clearly, then, Mr. Downey, as a self-appointed spokesman for "Big Business," must believe that, if necessary, democracy must be overthrown or subverted there, too, in order that the "planners and socializers" may be ousted.

Mr. Downey is no more a phenomenon peculiar to the United States than are the vested interests he represents peculiar to the United States. In no country have there been found wanting people who thought the protection of vested interests cheap at the

price of the destruction of democracy at home and abroad. If Canadian democracy is not to be subverted to the interests of a Canadian Mr. Downey, Canadians will have to formulate very clearly what it is that they are fighting for and then see that their formulations are implemented by the government of their choice.

THE CRISIS IN SOCIETY

As a matter of fact, these two fundamentally different views of the nature of the war and the kind of world we are fighting for, reflect a cleavage which goes to the very heart of our society. For everywhere great changes are in the making—changes in the distribution of power, changes in the distribution of income, changes in all the conditions necessary to bring to birth those four freedoms *for all men, everywhere*, to which President Roosevelt dedicated the armed effort of the United States as one of the United Nations. Those changes cannot take place without involving in some way the interests of every man, woman and child on the face of the globe. The tendency of these changes is in the direction of a more nearly equal distribution of the good things of life. The millions who would welcome such a change are organizing to implement it, while a minority who stand to lose, or think they stand to lose, by such a change, are organizing to resist it.

Perhaps one of the greatest differences between the present crisis and previous periods of change is that now, more than ever, large masses of people are aware of what is happening and are taking sides in the struggle according to their interests and beliefs. This is true not only of Europe, but of Asia, of the Americas, of the so-called “backward peoples” of almost every inhabited spot on the globe. Today more and more people know what the struggle is about.

Those who are desirous of bringing about the change as quickly as possible with a minimum of violence and suffering need to be on their guard against the tactics of those organized to resist them. Many occupants of positions of privilege and power, driven by fear, have in the past, do now, and will in the future, suppress

freedom, use propaganda, incite race hatred, dispense "bread and circuses"—if necessary use violence and bloodshed—to ensure that no greater extension of freedom and democracy shall come about.

Society is now in a transitional stage between an old order and a new. After nearly three centuries of progress and achievement the society that was built on the wreckage of feudalism is itself disintegrating. A social order based on privilege and exploitation has everywhere proved itself incapable of utilizing fully the productive resources at its disposal, either spiritual or material. The basic contradiction that is at the root of the crisis is this. Outmoded social and economic relationships are in conflict with expanding productive forces.

In the process of technological change, we have for the first time, in the world's history, reached a point where "freedom from want *for all men, everywhere*" is a practicable programme rather than a Utopian dream. If that programme is to be implemented, then some features of the social order must be changed. The full utilization of the productive resources of the world society must take precedence over any consideration of privilege or vested interest, of individuals, minority groups, or nations. Outmoded social and economic relationships cannot be allowed to stand in the way of expanding productive forces, nor is "poverty in the midst of plenty" a tolerable programme for the future of *any nation, anywhere*.

And yet, for the past twenty years or more, governments in countless countries have found themselves forced to undertake the wholesale destruction of goods if the economic system were to be spared break-down in complete chaos. At the present moment we have here in Canada a prosperity based on the wholesale use in the service of destruction of resources that logically could have been used to secure satisfaction in terms of shelter, of food, of clothing, of other material and immaterial needs, not only for Canadians for many years to come, but for the people of less fortunate countries for a considerable period.

Unquestionably, the "free enterprise" or capitalist system admirably solved the problem of production. It has not yet solved the problem of distribution without periodic wholesale destruction.

That is the dilemma of our society, and of that dilemma, Fascism, the war, the depression, the burning or destruction of food stuffs in order to maintain prices, are expressions.

FASCISM IS NOT THE ANSWER

What is the way out? To that question, alas, there is no easy answer, and if there were, this paper would be far too short to embody it. The way the Fascist countries have adopted is to reduce wages and living standards in order to maintain the system of privilege and exploitation, while organizing the excess productive capacity for the destructive purposes of war. Whatever he may want, it is abundantly clear that the common man in Canada, indeed the common man everywhere in the world, does not want that.

There are many differing ideas as to how we might achieve a social and economic system capable of solving the problem of distribution which the system now breaking down was patently unable to solve. These differences need not concern us now. What we are fighting for is the right to work out the best solution we can, step by step, by means of the democratic process. We are fighting for an opportunity to solve our social problems in the interests of the majority; we are fighting, in short, for the preservation of democracy, not in order that any particular social organization may be restored, but that changes may be made by the peaceful ways of democracy, instead of by violence and compulsion.

We are now engaged in a war against the main forces of international Fascism. Although there may be minor differences of opinion about what our future form of society should be like, we must sink them for the time being, and unite in putting all our efforts into the immediate struggle. And in the course of that struggle, if it is conducted as a democratic total war—the only method by which the United Nations can finally win both the war and the peace—the people may learn how to work together for a common social purpose, and actually begin to lay the foundations for a future free society, based on the ideal of the brotherhood of man.

A STRATEGY FOR DEMOCRACY

In the struggle for the transformation of society there are certain fundamental principles on which the progressive forces must operate if they are to be successful. These principles of action apply as strongly now, during the war, as they did before the war, and they will be equally important after the victory. We will mention three very important principles on the basis of which our strategy for democracy must be worked out.

The first principle of democratic action is *unity*. The thing from which our side has suffered most in the past, and from which we still suffer, is lack of *united* action against Fascism. The people of good will who are sincerely honest in their desire to build a better world for mankind are split into a thousand different groups. While there is a very large area of agreement about both ultimate objectives and immediate reforms among large sections of the people, there is strong disagreement about methods, motives, names and other factors which are of secondary importance. Farmers and workers are often mutually antagonistic; professional people fear trade unionists; socialists and communists attack each other, and liberals attack both; trade unions fight among themselves; Protestants are suspicious of Catholics and some among both deeply distrust the Jews; English and French jealously guard their "rights" against each other. Instead of uniting to defend our common beliefs, and launching a concentrated attack upon the reactionary enemies of human progress we spend our energies fighting among ourselves. Victory for the enemy is a foregone conclusion in such a situation. Factionalism, misunderstanding, prejudice, jealousy, mistrust, fear and ignorance have all played a part in splitting the popular forces in their fight against Fascism in the past. But we no longer have time to indulge in such luxuries. This is war in deadly earnest. In this crisis we must have unity among the people on the broadest possible democratic basis.

The second principle of action is that the struggle against Fascism *must have its roots deep in the common people*—the people who do the work in the factories and the fields, who make up the

vast body of the armed services. In particular, the democratic movement must have a solid foundation in the ranks of labour. Labour is a decisive factor in the fight against Fascism for a number of reasons: not only because of its large numbers, and its high degree of organization, not only because of its strategic position in production, transportation, and all the vital services, but chiefly because the interests of labour are at every point so strongly opposed to Fascism. Fascism stands for the opposites of those things for which labour is organized—greater equality, and political and economic democracy. Melvin Rader, an American professor of Philosophy, says in his book, *No Compromise*:

No other class in the community stands to gain so much from a new equalitarian social order; the struggle of the workers is therefore the fundamental dynamic that can lift society to the level of classless humanism. On the other hand, there is no other class that stands to lose so much from the inequalitarian practices of Fascism; consequently no other class can be depended upon to oppose so resolutely the forces that perpetuate and intensify social oppression. No country is seriously in danger from internal Fascist developments so long as labour is united, clear as to its own interests, and democratic in its forms of control and organization. Anti-Fascists should, therefore, do all in their power to build unity, strength, democracy, and clarity of purpose within labour's ranks, and to enlist allies in the professional and middle class groups for the workers' efforts in behalf of peace, democracy, and an adequate standard of life.

This was written in 1939 before Germany invaded Poland, but it is even more applicable now. This is a people's war, and the people must win it. On the basis of a strong, democratic, well-organized, purposeful labour movement, we can build a unity that will be unshakeable for the common task of winning the war among all sections of the population in Canada. But we cannot do that if labour has reason to be cynical about the aims or the sincerity of purpose of public leaders, or if workers and farmers feel that some other groups are not willing to share in truly equal sacrifice and effort.

The third principle on which our strategy must be based is that democracy must offer to the people of the Fascist countries and to the people of the democratic countries themselves (and their

colonial possessions) *a better way of life* than they have known before. Democracy cannot win this struggle against Fascism by a purely defensive campaign; our side can only win by going on the offensive in the social and political spheres, as well as in the military sphere. A successful strategy for democracy in this war demands not merely the maintenance of democracy, but its extension. It is no rallying cry for victory to say that the United Nations are fighting to defend the *status quo*, or even "to preserve our way of life." For too many people—people whose enthusiastic co-operation is essential to our success—that way of life has meant discrimination, oppression and want. The system of things as they were contained too many of the very things we are now fighting against. The strength of democracy lies in its steady forward march toward the elimination of poverty, ignorance and oppression. And it is not enough to promise these things. The Fascists have built their appeal on action—doing something about conditions, instead of just talking about them. We must undermine their strength by demonstrating through concrete actions for improving the welfare of our own peoples and granting greater equality (within the limitations imposed by demands of war) that we really mean what we say about a better world in the future.

Using these principles as a foundation, the people of the United Nations and their leaders can work out a strategy for democracy that will include all aspects of a total, global war. Using these principles as a guide, we, as individuals, can determine how to make the most effective contribution to the successful execution of such a strategy.

ESSENTIAL CONDITIONS OF VICTORY

Some of the lines of that strategy immediately become obvious; others will need to be hammered out by the people in the day-to-day experience of the struggle itself. Here in brief are some of the essential conditions of victory:

1. Unity—unity within the nation, and unity between the nations. It is essential to establish the broadest possible unity between all classes and all sections of the population within our country. All conflict and friction must be subordinated to

united action around the common purpose of achieving victory over Fascism. But unity must be democratic in character. Indeed real national unity is not possible on any other basis. That unity should be made so broad as to include all but the few defeatists or extreme reactionary elements who are not particularly anxious to see Fascism completely defeated in any case. Similarly, it is important to develop sympathetic understanding and to strengthen the friendship between *the people* of the various United Nations. The strategy of Axis propaganda is to try to divide the United Nations from one another by sowing seeds of suspicion. We must try to eliminate any misunderstanding that may exist between the British and American people. And it is particularly important that we learn more about the people of China and of the Soviet Union, upon both of whom at the moment our future so largely rests. We should try to understand more fully their ways of living, their problems, their achievements, their national characteristics and their aspirations. There is much we can learn from them, and much that they can learn from us, if we are willing to accept them as equal partners in our joint struggle to rid the world of tyranny. The co-operation achieved during the war between four great World Powers: the British Commonwealth of Nations, the Chinese Republic, the United States of America, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, will provide a foundation on which to build a new, secure international order after the war.

2. Our side must launch a full-scale political offensive as well as a military offensive. The responsibility for doing this falls mainly on Great Britain and the United States with the support of Canada and the other Dominions. To defeat Fascism, the forces of all the peoples of the world must be mobilized against it. As Wendell Willkie pointed out in his statement issued at Chungking, everywhere—in Africa, the Middle East, Eastern Europe and Asia—he found the people hoping for a victory by the United Nations; everywhere he found people looking for economic and political freedom. But they lacked confidence in the sincerity of the promises of the great Western Powers to help them gain real freedom after the war. We must state our aims and intentions in this regard clearly and unequivocally. We must give some guarantees *now* that will convince the colonial peoples, and the oppressed peoples of Europe, that we mean what we say about the self-determination of peoples. The Atlantic Charter is a begin-

ning, but it must be expressed in more specific, concrete terms. We all know that India is better off under British rule than she would be under German or Japanese Fascist domination, but that isn't enough to secure the full collaboration of the Indian people. Edgar Snow, the famous correspondent, said in a recent article about India, that in his opinion we couldn't defend India against both the Japanese and the Indian people.

We must also win the active co-operation of the oppressed people of Europe, not only by our political declarations, but with practical aid in the line of military and other supplies. And we must try to help that part of the German people already opposed to Hitler and the Nazi gang. We can only do this if we recognize that it is Fascism we are fighting and not the German people. To play into Goebbels' hands by directing our propaganda against the whole German people is sheer stupidity. We should try to weaken the enemy and build up the strength of our own support in every way possible. Politics cannot be divorced from military strategy. An offensive in Europe would do more than anything else to strengthen the resistance of our allies.

3. For victory we must have the greatest possible production of guns, ships and food. To use our resources of manpower and machines to their fullest capacity demands the co-operative effort of everyone connected with the productive effort. Experience in Great Britain, New Zealand, Australia and elsewhere seems to demonstrate that this can best be secured in industry through co-operation between labour and management in war production councils. This policy has been recommended by government officials and the results it has already given in many plants in increased output justifies the claims made for it. But to be most effective, labour-management production committees must be based on labour union organization. *Organized* labour is far more likely to understand the issues of the war, and to support it more actively.

To overcome the problems confronting farmers in keeping up maximum food and fibre production, the co-operation of government departments of agriculture and farm organizations is necessary. Local and district war production committees which have been used so successfully in England and the United States, including farmers and official agricultural representatives, should be set up all across the country.

4. Our enemy is a citizen army, an army of the people. In the interests of the morale of the armed forces and the strength-

ening of our national unity, the closest kind of co-operation should be built up between the army and the civilian population. The army and the people should be one. The interests of the armed services should be the first concern of civilians. This can be done in hundreds of different ways, by giving hospitality to the men, providing them with books, special comforts, entertainments and so on. It is especially important to develop the political and cultural interests of the men in the forces. The modern soldier fighting Fascism needs more than skill in the use of weapons. He needs to understand clearly against what and for what he is fighting. He needs moral and political equipment that will strengthen his will. He must be consciously democratic and anti-Fascist.

5. There must be as much equality of sacrifice as possible. If people feel that the government is protecting the interests of certain groups in the country, their faith in the sincerity of our national leaders will be seriously weakened. There must be no profiteering in this people's war, there can be no business-as-usual, there can be no escape from sacrifice by certain privileged minorities. If some people are able to buy luxury goods while others are going without essentials, the morale of the whole country will be weakened. While it is obviously impossible to have complete equality of sacrifice, this should be the goal at which we aim.

6. The social standards and the health of the whole population must be protected, and the education of the younger generation must not be neglected because of the war. There are other less essential things which can be eliminated. While fighting Fascism we must not lose the things we are trying to protect. Free, public, universal education is one of the most important pillars of democracy.

7. To achieve a total war effort there must be a high degree of popular participation and democratic initiative on the part of the people in all phases of the war. While there must be central authority and discipline, this does not at all necessitate the adoption of Fascist methods of government. The most effective results will be gained through the co-operative effort of the people, rather than by means of arbitrary compulsion. There are tremendous latent powers in the people of a democracy—as both the Chinese and Russian people have demonstrated. Canadians are likewise capable of developing their own initiative towards defeating Fascism.

8. Finally it is important to realize that the present determines the future. A democratic people's war will mean a people's peace. The best guarantee of the establishment of a just and democratic post-war society lies in the full participation of the people in the war effort now. This will be more effective than all the talk and planning in the world about post-war reconstruction. The problems of winning the war and the peace are part of the same job. As Henry Wallace said: "If we really believe that we are fighting for a people's peace all the rest becomes easy."

If people really believe they are fighting for the future, and not just some doubtful past, and if they have faith that the promises of a better world to come are not empty words, their will to victory will be unshakable. What we need now is more democracy, not less. Above all, we need to have faith in the determination and ability of the common people. The resistance of the ordinary people of Europe and Asia has already shown us that such faith is not a blind one.

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QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Mr. Morrison suggests we are fighting this war for something more than the mere protection of our pre-war social order. Who are "we" to whom he refers?

(a) Are they a number of isolated individuals like Vice-President Wallace or are they an organized group? Or does he simply mean "public opinion"?

(b) Is there any political party in Canada (or elsewhere) through which people with such convictions work and express themselves?

2. There is reference in this article to "appeasers." Who are the "appeasers" in Canada? How are they to be identified? What is their policy, their point of view, their objective? Should they be considered dangerous? Why?

3. Not all people believe in "the century of the common man" or in "appeasement." What other positions can be taken in regard to war aims?

4. What is meant by the attractive phrase "freedom for everyone, everywhere"? Does it mean freedom to speak and read and write about any subject and point of view? Does it mean freedom to initiate one's own business, to organize a monopoly, to make profit? Does it mean a government (in Canada, for example) that acts merely as a sort of umpire when "free men" clash? Does it mean a world of free, independent nations without controls of any kind? If, at any point in the national or international scene, controls are required, what controls are necessary and who controls the controllers?

5. How is "the century of the common man" to be advanced? By violent revolution? By organizing a new political party? By convincing the representatives of old political parties of the need for such a programme? Presumably most of us would prefer not to have violent revolution? If not, how can those who want the kind of developments which Mr. Morrison talks about, act and function best?

6. Discuss the most effective ways by which individuals and groups in civilian and military life can help the war effort? In what way can they speed the social goals outlined in this article (or others)? What might be done now? What must be left for the "duration"? Look over Mr. Morrison's suggestions regarding present strategy. Which are practicable and feasible? Which can be tackled now? How by you?

CHAPTER II

CANADA'S WAR EFFORT

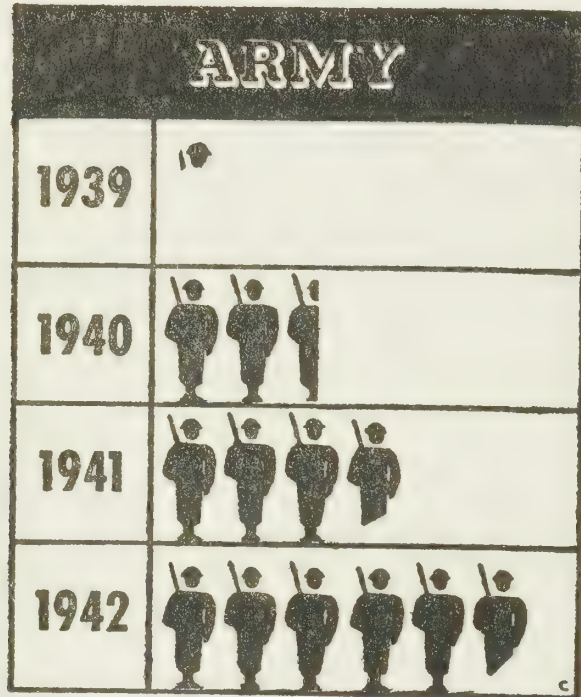
ON THE day she declared war Canada closed the door on her "frontier era" of free growth. To meet a grave challenge to that very freedom, she launched into a radically new era of a regulated economy, restricted activity, "planned" production. At the start of the fourth year of hostilities, nearly every phase of life within the Dominion is organized by compulsory or "voluntary" regulation to fit into the wartime pattern, and out of three years of emergency decisions there has emerged a strangely well-ordered pattern of control and co-ordination.

This is the greatest single fact in Canada today—affecting the farmer who gets a bonus for growing less wheat and more oats, the medical student who takes a six-year course in five, the girl who works at a lathe all night instead of dancing, the employer who can't hire anybody without a permit, the housewife who must exchange coupons as well as money for sugar, tea and coffee, and the sixteen-year-old office boy who pays income tax on his fifteen dollars a week; and, most of all, the soldier, sailor or airman right in the thick of the fight, from whom all these others are several times removed, whose life is the most strictly regulated of them all.

No narrower than this is the scope of Canada's war effort. Obviously an article which tries to cover it within a few pages can do little more than outline the larger divisions of the pattern—the armed forces, production, economic organization—in facts and figures. But just as the facts and figures add up to the mighty war-punch of 11,500,000 people, so does each Order-in-Council mean a change in the way of life of the corner grocer or jeweller, and every million-dollar appropriation split into a dollars-and-cents shift in the personal economy of the shop-clerk, the milkman and the woman next door.

THE ARMY

Canada's biggest fighting force is its army, perhaps half its total active strength now being Overseas, where Canada is building two army corps. In Great Britain are three divisions of infantry (including one of mechanized infantry), an armoured division, a tank brigade, and thousands of Corps and Ancillary troops—Engineers, Signals, Army Service, Ordnance and Medical Corps.



1 UNIT equals approximately 60,000 men

(This does not include the reserve army.)

Among these are the men of the First Division who began to land in December, 1939, already spoiling for a fight. Twice they were ordered into action (Norway and France), only to have the orders cancelled at the last minute. A third time, one infantry brigade crossed the Channel, got two hundred miles from Brest as the whole Allied show collapsed about them, and had to return without firing a shot.

Yet these are the men—along with the thousands who have since followed them Overseas—who went doggedly back to training,

training, training . . . until today it is claimed they represent the most heavily armoured unit in existence. For long months they have defended vital coastal sectors at what Prime Minister Churchill described as "the very point where they would be the first to be hurled into a counter-stroke against an invader." As he has been whipping them into a keen, hard-hitting offensive force, their commander, Lieutenant-General "Andy" McNaughton, prefers to call them "a dagger pointed at Berlin."

At home, the army has divided Canada into eleven military districts, for training and administration, with an Atlantic and a Pacific Command established on each coast for the active defence of the nation. The eleven military districts are charged with raising new units as required, and with the training of units and reinforcements. Today's recruit (volunteer or drafted) is assigned to one of forty-one basic training centres where for two months he learns the groundwork of soldiering, from parade drill to toughening field manoeuvres. He is trained to use the standard army rifle, the tommy gun, the blitz shotgun, the light Boys anti-tank gun, how to toss hand grenades and to fire two types of mortar.

Based on his own desire and the aptitude he has shown for various phases of his course (personnel selection work is rapidly becoming an army specialty designed to put every man at the job for which he is best suited) the new soldier is dispatched to the suitable one of twenty-five advanced-training centres, where he is assigned to "higher studies" in a particular arm—infantry, machine gun, small arms, artillery, engineers, signals, armoured car and tank, army service corps, medical, etc.

A special phase of army training is handled by the centres for instructing tradesmen, now turning out many thousands of maintenance men yearly. Including supplementary municipal and industrial schools, there are now one hundred and twenty-five technical training schools for army tradesmen.

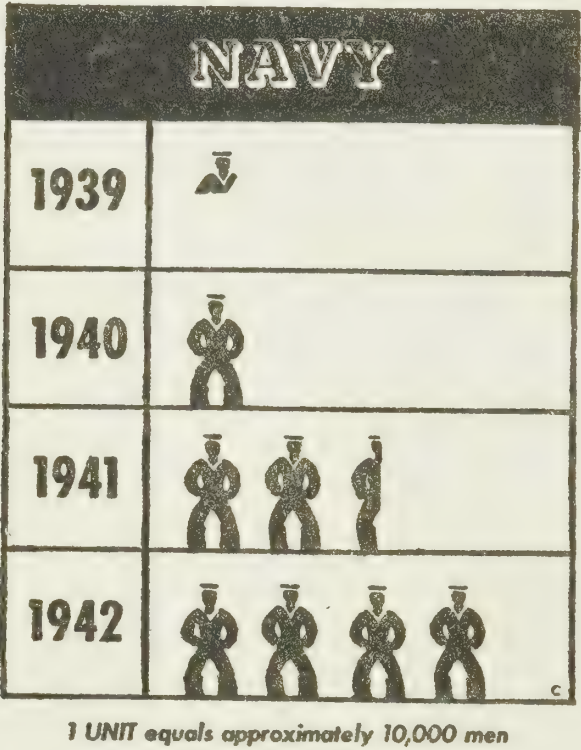
While officers are often recruited from university C.O.T.C. and Reserve Army units, more and more men from the ranks are constantly being recommended for the exhaustive courses leading to commissions at the two officers' training centres in the Dominion.

Many N.C.O.'s are brought back from Overseas units for entry in these centres.

The part Canadians play in the British Commandos has been disclosed to an expectant Canada in the raid on Dieppe, where five-sixths of the expedition were Canadian troops, units from every section in Canada. But Overseas training for all troops now calls for much the same type of smashing, rough-and-tumble tactics. Joint formation of special U.S.-Canadian forces to be trained in desert and mountain warfare has been announced, and the Canadian army has begun parachute and glider schools.

THE NAVY

The Royal Canadian Navy has been in action since the day war began. Now its 41,000 men are at sea in more than four hundred



ships of His Majesty's Canadian Service and aboard more than one thousand Royal Navy vessels. They are carrying out vital tasks at countless coastal stations and instructing or learning at twenty-four training stations.

Our navy has played a part out of all proportion to its size in helping convoy upwards of 10,000 ships carrying 56,000,000 tons of cargo to Britain (up to May, 1942). Today it is responsible for one-third of the North-Western Atlantic convoy system, sharing the job equally with the British and U.S. fleets.

While greater nations with mightier fleets have wrestled with the problem of whether to build more battleships or scrap them for aircraft carriers, Canada's navy has pushed ahead its business-like programme of more and more sub-chasers, motor torpedo boats, minesweepers, corvettes and destroyers. These are the ships best designed for the navy's three-fold job—guarding the Canadian coasts, clearing the sea-lanes, and protecting the supply convoys.

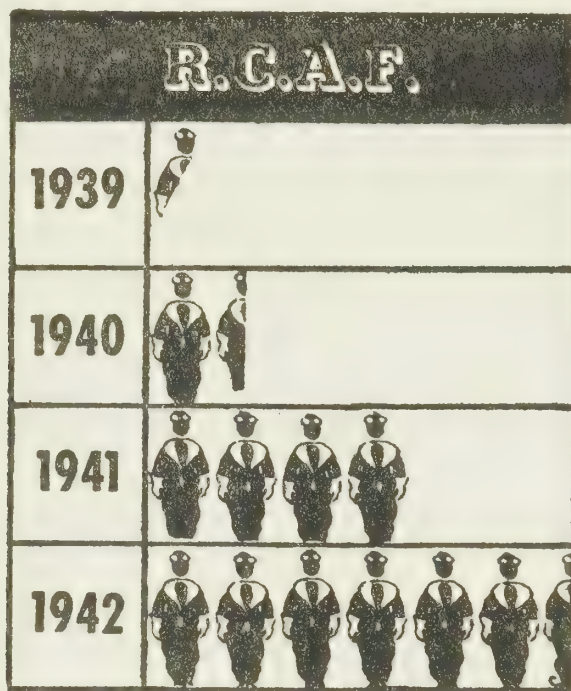
The R.C.N.V.R. has provided by far the greater part of the navy's present strength of 41,000 men, transforming landlubbers into capable sea-going fighting men in remarkably few months. "New entries" are outfitted and given preliminary training in the R.C.N.V.R. station where they enlist, proceed usually to H.M.C.S. *York* at Toronto (all shore stations have ship names) for intensified instruction before being sent to one of two permanent coastal schools: H.M.C.S. *Stadacona* in Halifax, or H.M.C.S. *Naden* at Esquimalt.

The navy's rate of expansion is seen in the 1942 estimates for this year's operational costs—\$260,000,000. That figure is twice as much as was spent in the past two and one-half years.

THE R.C.A.F.

The Royal Canadian Air Force is simultaneously carrying out three great and ambitious tasks. It has established Canada as the vast "Airdrome of Democracy" by operating the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan, making flyers out of fledgelings from New Zealand, Australia, Britain and other parts of the Empire, as well as Canada. It provides air defences for Canada's lengthy coast lines—defences which have been rapidly expanding since last December 7th. Canadian fighter pilots and bomber crews are actively fighting the war in their thousands in Britain, Russia, the Mediterranean, the Middle East and the Far East.

The R.C.A.F.'s pre-war strength of 4,000 men has shot up to over 125,000. It was to be expected that Canada, because of her last war's record in the air, would find thousands of potential flyers among her own youth. But because her situation, topography and climate made her the ideal "site" for the huge Commonwealth flying school that was envisioned even before the war began, she has been called on to man the one hundred and forty establishments



1 UNIT equals approximately 20,000 men

(including almost a hundred training stations of the British Commonwealth Training Plan) with flying and technical instructors, ground crews and administrative officers.

By the end of this year the Plan will have more than 4,000 training planes in the air (the R.C.A.F. had few more than that number of *men* in 1939), and will ultimately use perhaps 10,000. Planes take off and land every three minutes at some schools—fly day and night. Aircraft of all stations fly a daily average of more than 1,000,000 miles. If all flight training field runways were pieced together they would make a twenty-one-foot runway over 1,000 miles long.

In addition to aircrew "production," the Commonwealth Plan has turned out more than 25,000 trained maintenance men from

groundcrew trade schools. Eighteen pre-enlistment trade training centres help provide a flow of groundcrew recruits.

Symbolizing the tremendous advance of the Commonwealth's air-striking power, was the devastating thousand-plane raid on Cologne last spring. Of the 6,000 aircrew personnel involved, more than 1,000 were Canadians. No fact better dramatizes the part our own pilots, observers, navigators, gunners and radio men have come to play in the war. Many Canadians had joined the R.A.F. before the war. Then, early in 1940, the first R.C.A.F. squadron reached Britain, followed shortly by two others. As the flow of Commonwealth Plan graduates became a flood, Canadians were assigned to R.A.F. units until almost every British squadron had at least one representative from this country. Although most Canadian Air Force men are still assigned to R.A.F. units, more recently the R.C.A.F. has been seeking greater control over its own men. It now has at least twenty-five squadrons of its own in Britain, and others in the Middle East. There are plans for an R.C.A.F. bomber group and army co-operation squadrons, the last working with McNaughton's troops.

MUNITIONS AND SUPPLIES

Canada's exports ranked fourth among the world's nations before the war, and by the end of 1941 our exports had jumped eighty per cent.—this despite the complete loss of trade with many nations. To some extent Canadians have had to sacrifice their own consumption to make more goods available for shipment to Allied nations, but this tremendous export increase can be taken as visible evidence of how Canadian producers (industrial, agricultural and fishery) are meeting the challenge of war needs.

Every large business has its purchasing agent. So have government departments, armies, navies and air forces. One of Canada's most dramatic wartime steps has been the establishment of one all-encompassing purchasing agency for all her war needs, an agency which has at the same time power to control all vital supplies, and to produce through its own subsidiary companies

goods which existing commercial concerns are not prepared to manufacture. This, in a sentence, is the job of the Department of Munitions and Supply.

As early as January, 1939, in establishing a Defence Purchasing Board (Munitions and Supply's predecessor), the Government decreased the chance of profiteering and duplication on account of competitive bidding by various defence agencies. The move was precedent-shattering—one branch of Britain's armed forces still places orders on its own authority, and, even with the creation of the War Production Board in the U.S. early this year, the new agency still tangles with army and navy purchasing agents.

The Department of Munitions and Supply had, by September, 1942, placed a grand total of \$5,200,000,000 in war supply orders on behalf of the Canadian, United Kingdom and other Allied governments—for competition in the Canadian market as between nations has also been barred for the duration. The Department places six hundred contracts a day on Canadian account alone—so far, a total of more than 385,000 orders for everything from false teeth to tanks.

SUPPLYING THE TOOLS

The story of those orders is the story of Canada's industrial war effort. Few examples of industrial expansion are so impressive as that of the aircraft industry which is today turning out eight types of training and service aircraft, at the rate of four hundred monthly, as compared to a rate of forty "stick-and-string" types a year before the war.

Virtually all aircraft needed for the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan are now being manufactured in Canada. Training planes of the same type, once imported from the U.S., are now being exported to that country, and fighter planes, long-range and dive bombers, are being sold to Britain and the United States. By the end of 1941, 3,800 planes had been completed (motors and a few instruments are imported), and orders for 10,000 more planes to the value of \$500,000,000 were on hand.

The automotive industry—now prohibited from making any

more cars for civilian use for the duration—is converted 100 per cent. to the manufacture of military vehicles. Every three minutes another army automotive unit rolls from the production lines. Thirty thousand workers are producing one hundred types—mobile workshops, wireless trucks, ambulances, fire trucks, scout, reconnaissance and armoured cars, universal carriers (tank treads instead of wheels), plus ninety types of troop and ammunition transports, artillery tractors, tenders and cranes. One plant turns out a sufficient number of universal carriers every day to equip a battalion, enough in fourteen days to outfit a division.

Two types of tank are now in production. The eighteen-ton Diesel-motored Valentine has been shipped to Russia in the hundreds, on schedule, as ordered. The Ram tank, nearly twenty feet long and weighing as much as a freight car, is built in the Continent's second largest tank arsenal.

Canada now makes guns by the thousand, shells by the million, and bullets by the hundred million. The list includes one type of field gun, two naval guns, two anti-aircraft guns, two tank and two anti-tank guns, and two types of trench mortar, plus five types of machine gun and two types of rifle.

Twenty-one kinds of shell and two types of bomb are in production, 9,000,000 shells having been delivered by the end of last year, with capacity reported expanded to 1,200,000 a month. Eleven types of small arms ammunition were being turned out at the rate of more than 50,000,000 rounds monthly as of the same date.

Packing the deadly punch into those millions of shells and cartridges, our tremendously expanded chemical and explosives factories in six months now produce more explosives than the industry did from 1914-1918. Thirty-four projects will be in full operation by the end of 1942 keeping more than 45,000 workers busy. In addition to mobilizing the peacetime chemical industry, \$125,000,000 has been spent on new plants and developments.

Unlike aircraft, shipbuilding had once been a great Canadian industry but the shipbuilding art had been almost lost between wars. Old yards have burst into new life, workers have swarmed into newly created yards until nineteen large and fifty-eight small

establishments are now hard at work. Two types of cargo ship and forty types of naval vessel ranging from super-destroyers to deadly motor torpedo boats, to the value of \$550,000,000, are now coming off the ways to the cheers of more than 40,000 workers.

ORGANIZING AND FINANCING INDUSTRY

These production figures of Canada's war industry show how the vast sum of \$5,200,000,000 has been expended by the nation's "purchasing agent." But Munitions and Supply has had to take on two other vital jobs to make its purchases possible.

Peacetime industry was rapidly being "snowed under" by orders and special requirements, and certain war goods called for huge new plants. Who was to finance them, operate them—and face the problem of converting or closing them down again at war's end?

The first solution was for Munitions and Supply to order a private firm to build, equip and operate the needed plant at government expense, and for this government agency to buy the goods produced, at cost-plus, or else pay the firm a management fee. More than \$700,000,000 has been spent for such developments. The government may give the firm an option on purchase of the plant at the end of hostilities, or take a chance on being able to dispose of it "some day."

The second solution was the establishment of Crown Companies of which there are now twenty-one. The Department often has asked a qualified industrial executive to set up a new government-owned firm to produce certain goods. The Crown Company may build factories and do the job itself or let contracts and supervise production. In this way has most of the expansion in the chemical industry been accomplished; Wartime Shipping Ltd. has placed contracts to the tune of \$325,000,000 for cargo ships; Wartime Housing Ltd. has erected 8,000 low-priced homes for war workers.

The Department assumed its other responsibility when the leaping demands of the great industrial machine it was creating

and developing began to gobble vital materials more quickly than they could be replaced, with trade lines cut and foreign sources lost to the enemy. Munitions and Supply set up the Wartime Industries Control Board and under it appointed controllers authorized to buy and sell, increase or restrict production of such goods and services as oil, machine tools, timber, steel, electric power, transit, etc. Motorists part reluctantly with gasoline coupons, stenographers get up earlier to comply with the staggered work-hours policy, factories stop making unessential items to turn out battle tools . . . all at the order of the controllers of strategic materials and services in the Department of Munitions and Supply.

“FOOD WILL WIN THE WAR”

There is one exception to the purchasing powers of the Department of Munitions and Supply—food for Canada's Allies. M. & S. does buy food—17,000,000 dozen eggs for the army, for example—but in the first three years of war Britain bought from Canada, roughly, 68,000,000 dozen. Except for 10,000,000 dozen, that great volume was purchased through the Special Products Board, aided by the Agricultural Supplies Board, an agency established by the Department of Agriculture to mobilize the nation's 730,000 farmers for the fight.

These orders take priority, but at the same time the agricultural and food-processing industries are feeding the Canadian people, now eating fifteen to twenty per cent. more than before the war—people who are working hard in munition plants, training hard in the armed forces. And it has taken a near-revolution to make this double achievement possible.

In pre-war years Canada shipped abroad many millions of bushels of good, hard Canadian wheat; war came and many of these markets were lost; and lost, too, were many of Britain's sources of foods—such as meats, cheese, eggs, butter and milk. Under the direction of the Department of Agriculture and its Agricultural Supplies Board a vast “conversion” scheme was launched—just as our automotive industry has been converted to making military

vehicles—so that our farms might produce the foods that Britain most needs. Food worth \$488,000,000 in the first two war years, \$337,000,000 in 1941-1942, and more next—ninety per cent. of it wheat and flour, bacon and hams, cheese and eggs.

Wheat and flour offered no problem. Record crops and disruption of normal trade had left the grain elevators and improvised farm bins bursting each spring before the new crops were harvested. But other items in such great quantities took some juggling of farm fashions.

Canada's hog population was 3,600,000 before the war; bacon and ham exports approached 190,000,000 pounds a year. The loss of Denmark and the Low Countries soon brought staggering demands from Britain for "more hog."

The Canadian Government signed huge contracts with Britain at prices that would speed up production and deliveries. Eastern provinces added a bonus of fifty cents to a dollar per carcass. To prevent hogs from disappearing on the rising U.S. market in the summer of 1941, Britain and Canada raised the price paid per hundred pounds, from \$18.60 to \$19.90. An "Eat Less Pork" campaign was started in Canadian homes and restaurants.

Meanwhile, the Dominion Government offered a two-dollar bonus for every acre of wheat land turned to feed grains and flax-seed. The area under oats and barley jumped twenty-five per cent. in three years—4,000,000 acres. Now there was more in every feed trough.

The number of hogs sold for slaughter nearly doubled; in Western Canada, it trebled. The hog population climbed from 1938's 3,600,000 to 6,400,000 in 1941. This year will likely see it up another fifteen-twenty-five per cent. And the country's one hundred and forty-six packing plants have introduced assembly line, or rather "disassembly line" methods to double and triple processing with a labour increase of only twenty to fifty per cent.

Canadian flour production increased from 15,234,065 barrels in the crop year 1939 to 19,653,379 barrels in 1942—an increase of almost thirty per cent. Cheese factories shipped what last year seemed the huge total of 115,000,000 pounds to Britain, yet this

year will ship at least 125,000,000 pounds. Subsidies did the trick here, as they did in the case of increased egg production. Even the animals are getting into the spirit of the thing—Canada's cows yield more milk, sows give more piglets, and the average hen lays 112 eggs a year instead of 111!

Revolutionary changes and adaptations have been taken in stride in varying parts of the industry. Egg-drying plants are being rushed to completion to save shipping space: the 45,000,000 dozen eggs going to Britain would weigh 32,000 tons in the shell, but will be reduced to 8,200 tons by the drying process (not unlike that for evaporating milk), resulting in a saving of seventy-five per cent. in shipping space.

Because Britain's hardy fishermen are doing minesweeping and other auxiliary naval work, Canada's west coast fishermen have found a profitable new "crop" in herring. Neglected before the war, herring caught and packed totalled more than 1,600,000 cases last year as compared with a mere 24,000 cases in 1938. Two-thirds of our total salmon pack (a record 2,245,000 cases) last year went to Britain. This year the entire pack has been promised. On the other hand, Britain has banned the importation of lobster, and eighty-five per cent. of the annual catch was without a market until the Government instituted a control scheme and an advertising campaign which now disposes of nearly the entire pack to the United States—against valuable American exchange.

These are, of course, only the highlights, but they tell the story of how Canadian farmers—many a man working a large farm himself for lack of hired help—have answered the war call so triumphantly that next year they, with Canada's fishermen and food processors, will feed a fighting nation of 12,000,000 people and ship more than half a billion dollars' worth of food Overseas as well.

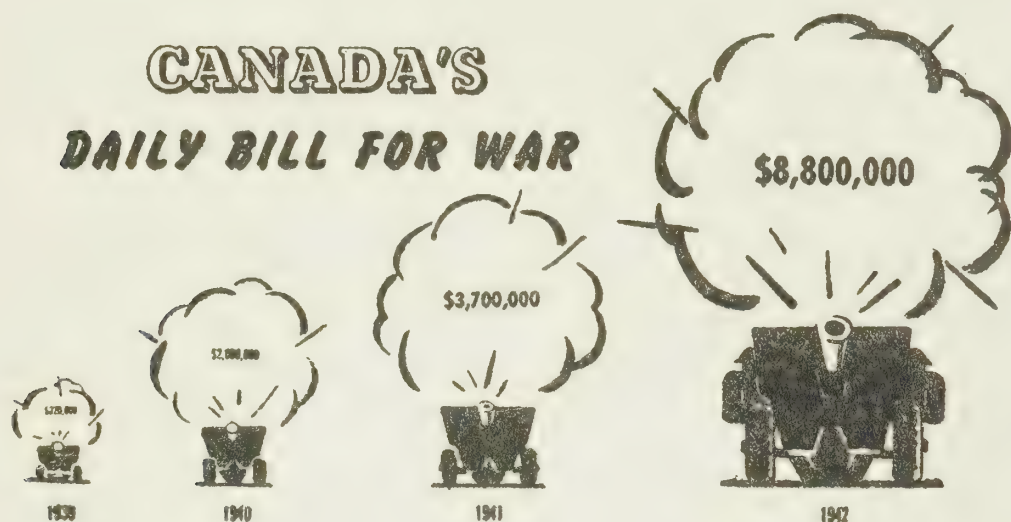
FINANCING THE WAR EFFORT IN CANADA

In telling the story of Canada's war effort, free use has been made in this article of zero signs. Million-dollar figures have been hurled at the reader with such prodigality that he may well be

swamped in a sea of ciphers. They can all be totalled up into a single, stunning series of digits:

In 1942 the Canadian Government will spend not less than \$3,900,000,000.

Three billion nine hundred million dollars! Eight years of peacetime spending in one! Some \$600,000,000 of it will go for non-war expenditures. All the rest is the price of total war.



Where is it coming from? Most of it from taxes on twelve million Canadians! On any citizen who buys a pack of cigarettes or a bottle of pop; on any man or woman, boy or girl who makes more than \$660 a year (\$12.69 a week). A single man making \$3,000 a year will pay \$1,064 income tax—if he isn't drafted into the army. Part of it ("compulsory savings") will be returned after the war. So will twenty per cent. of the one hundred per cent. excess profits tax paid by all business.

Out of taxes, the Department of Finance expects to get \$2,145,000,000, while Canadians will be asked to invest \$1,755,000,000 in Victory Bonds and War Savings Certificates. This year's costs are alone far higher than for five Great War years—higher than this war's (1939-1941) costs to date.

Three billion nine hundred million dollars!

An equally important question is: Where is it going to? It goes

to pay for those planes (400 a month), vehicles (one every three minutes), shells (1,200,000 a month); to pay for army, navy and air force uniforms (woollen and cotton cloth purchased since the start of the war would go twice around the earth). But eventually most of it goes into the pockets of the men and women on the production lines and the bosses in the panelled offices, into the purses of the stenographers and the staff of the Department of Finance who try to keep track of the ceaseless cycle.

And that's where the cycle is apt to stop revolving. The average citizen won't, without compulsion and exhortation, spend his weekly pay cheque on guns and tanks, or whatever part of a gun or tank it would buy. He buys food for his family, tickets for a "show," furniture and paint for the house which has probably become a bit down at the heels during the lean years since 1930. He's making good money and there are millions like him—five millions including those in civilian industries and services, on farms and in the armed forces.

Five million people all buying food, fun and furnishings—so up go the prices, and shortages develop. In normal times that sort of thing may be all right, within limits. The law of supply and demand works two ways, and if supply drops while continuing demand forces prices up, some enterprising party normally imports more or makes more of what's needed and eventually the price is stabilized.

But a wartime economy is entirely different. Five million workers and warriors is coming close to all Canada can muster: men and women can't flock to the colours and the war factories and leave enough workers behind to satisfy the demand for entertainment, fancy foods and new radios. Besides, the Government's purchasing agent is buying food by the shipload for Britain and radios by the carload for installation in planes and reconnaissance cars. Enemy action has cut off vital raw materials.

To meet abnormal influences on the national economy, abnormal regulations are necessary. So the Government has instituted a complex system of controls for the triple purpose of:

1. Guarding supplies of materials on which war industry must have first call.

2. Assuring every citizen a "fair proportion" of necessary goods at a "fair price" (while at the same time keeping war costs down by keeping down *all* prices and wages).

3. Assuring return to the government of sufficient money to pay for more tanks, planes, and guns . . . starting the cycle all over again.

It has already been seen how oil, steel, rubber and other controllers have been named to achieve the first purpose. The second is accomplished through an overall ceiling on prices and wages, and in certain cases through rationing.

The Wartime Prices and Trade Board is charged with this tremendous responsibility, which amounts to keeping the cost of living at a stabilized level. With certain exceptions (fresh fruits, vegetables, etc.), fixed prices apply on all goods sold at retail, and without a legitimate promotion, no wages may be increased. Both wages and prices are fixed at levels prevalent in October, 1941. A cost-of-living bonus is provided workers at the rate of twenty-five cents per week for every point rise in the cost-of-living index.

No other democratic country has dared to slap such a half-Nelson on economic forces. After almost a year of operation, the ambitious scheme seems to be working fairly smoothly, though not without meeting serious obstacles.

Rationing has been resorted to in special cases (gasoline, sugar, tea, coffee) where disrupted transportation facilities have threatened serious shortages.

The third purpose in the above list (assuring return to the government of sufficient money to pay the cost of the war) has been achieved so far through taxation and loans from the people—a "pay as you go" policy. This policy now has introduced a further method—"compulsory savings," payable with income tax.

Many controls and restrictions are manifold in their effect. Rationing of gasoline not only protects supplies of that product, but also of rubber, since restricted driving makes motor car tires last longer. The prohibition of motor vehicle manufacture for

private use reserves production facilities and raw materials for war purposes, and also removes from the market a popular product on which millions of civilian dollars might otherwise be spent. Rationing has so far been used only to guarantee fair proportioning of necessities, supply of which is at least temporarily jeopardized, but it conceivably could also be used further to restrict civilian purchases. The greater the "unspent" portion of the national income, the more there is available for purchase of War Savings Certificates and Victory Bonds. Conversely, the more that flows back into government coffers, the less there is to spend on normal purchases, thus easing the pressure on the price ceiling.

World War II is the costliest "project" the world has ever experienced. The "dictator" nations (particularly Germany) launched radically unorthodox economic policies long before hostilities began, in preparation. The "democratic" nations have been forced to previously undreamed of devices to meet their financial challenge. How well any of the systems resorted to will bear the strain of a prolonged war only time will reveal. It can be said, however, that Canada's courage and invention, in finding means to achieve the vital ends involved, have met with commendation both in Britain and the United States—and the approval has been evident in Canada's influence on methods in Australia and the United States.

MANPOWER

Some 5,000,000 Canadians, as previously stated, are now engaged in war industry, the armed forces, or civilian businesses and services. Yet army, navy, air force, the war factories and offices are still seeking new recruits in large numbers. The Director of National Selective Service has estimated that 250,000 more men and women must be enrolled directly in the war effort in the last five months of 1942.

Clearly the most important question facing Canada today is the problem of manpower. With close to half the population already at work, or on active service, it is evident that the pool of citizens

not too young, too old, or otherwise unsuited for productive or fighting tasks is rapidly drying up.

Moreover, while Canada has an overall purchasing agent in the Department of Munitions and Supply, in the late summer of 1942 the Nation still remained woefully without a comparable authority in the "manpower market." There was keen and open rivalry between Munitions and Supply, seeking industrial workers, and the army and air force, seeking soldiers and airmen.

Director of Selective Service, Elliott M. Little, has become known as "Manpower Boss," and he now has been given control over recruiting of men for the armed services. This important move may solve the problem of how manpower is to be apportioned, but it may not answer the question of where the needed total is to be found. Thus it may be necessary further to restrict unessential civilian activities, freeing employees for munition jobs—to say, perhaps, not to the butcher or baker, but certainly to the candlestick maker: "Make guns instead."

The other great hope of the "manpower" experts is that salvation may lie in womanpower. The extent to which the women of Canada have already found a place in the nation's gigantic war task calls for special mention. Contribution of the "distaff side" must be acknowledged in almost every phase of the war effort previously dealt with in this survey.

The Canadian Women's Army Corps has already enlisted nearly 5,000 recruits and hopes to get 10,000 girls in khaki before the end of the year, releasing an equal number of physically fit men for fighting duties. The R.C.A.F. Women's Division signed up its five thousandth recruit in June, 1942, and is enlisting hundreds more each day. The Navy has begun training officers for the Women's Royal Canadian Naval Service with an announced objective of 7,000.

Women at first found their warmest welcome to industry in the aircraft factories, where their natural abilities proved particularly useful. A young organization, the aircraft industry did not share the traditional reluctance to employ female labour which at first held back certain older industries, such as the automotive industry,

from dipping into the womanpower pool. But now the bars are down in almost every factory, and women are filling shells, making guns, rivetting, and doing countless other jobs previously done exclusively by men.

Today, an estimated 145,000 women are at work in war plants, with 55,000 more to be mobilized by the year's end. Some 9,000 have been trained under the Dominion Provincial War Emergency Training Plan, but most are trained by the factories that employ them. Women number as high as eighty per cent of the payroll in some plants.

Many married women (and many of these, mothers) are among the 145,000. In large cities, the care of children of working mothers has led to the organization of nursery centres, with government aid, and it is felt that if enough such child-care crèches can be established, many more mothers will be eager to take jobs. An even more serious problem arose with the application of new and stringent income taxes in the 1942 Dominion budget. So great was the threat that women would leave jobs as being not financially worthwhile, that the Act was amended to permit a husband whose wife is also working to claim a married man's exemption. Otherwise, both man and wife could claim only a single person's exemption if both were making more than \$660 a year.

WHAT DOES IT ALL MEAN FOR THE FUTURE?

At the outset of this article it was suggested that the most significant fact in Canada today is the completeness with which the war effort has penetrated the national life until it controls or affects the activities of 11,500,000 Canadians. From the magnitude of that war effort, and particularly from the indications here given of the tremendous rate at which it is still expanding, it can readily be appreciated how much more closely the individual citizen may expect to have his personal activities regulated for the furthering of the common task before World War II has ended.

There is a new Canada arising from these great exertions. A whole people cannot shift around their labour and their facilities,

and use their inventiveness to the utmost, without bringing about deep and lasting changes in the life of the community. Thus many years of public spending for the war will doubtless teach the people of Canada much that is new about what gives employment, what are the relations between great torrents of public investment and elimination of unemployment from the life of every Province. Price control for the war will have great meaning for the peace, when a Canada that must readjust itself to the post-war world may have to regulate the price and supply of goods and services until that adjustment is made. Almost a billion dollars in new plant and equipment owned, and in some cases, operated by the Government, will have immense possibilities in giving new opportunities to peace-time employment, in widening the limits of Canadian industrial production.

The war will teach Canada much that is new about labour relations, housing, employment exchanges, social insurance schemes, and many other important tasks that the Government has had to experiment with for its war-making. And in Ottawa, in Toronto, in Vancouver, in a dozen Canadian cities, there will be hundreds and thousands of young men who have had a taste of government in some wartime job, and they will be returning to their post-war employment with a deeper and broader knowledge of the problems of government and what really can be done for the good of the whole people if there is the will to do it.

SOME QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. From Canada's experience of wartime regulation so far, could you infer that regulation is an "all-or-none" matter, i.e. that if regulation is attempted at all, the whole economy must be regulated?
2. What have been the advantages of regulation? The disadvantages?
3. Who (what persons or groups) have gained under wartime regulation? Who have lost?
4. Matters that were formerly decided by economic means (i.e. by prices, bargaining, etc.) are now settled politically (i.e. by Act of Parliament) or by administrative regulation (Order-in-Council). What has been the effect of this "politics in business" in its impact on:

- (a) "Efficiency of production?"
- (b) "Individual initiative" and "self-reliance"?
- (c) Freedom of enterprise? Other freedoms?
- (d) Other values you hold, or "things you believe in?"

5. In such a regulated economy as we now have, the decision as to who gets what of the things there are to get (the "good things of life") is a matter of politics, i.e. of votes, and other organized pressures. By and large, the decisions made have been on the basis of keeping relative shares of the national income about the same for the different groups—farmers, labour, proprietorship, management, etc.—as they were before the war.

(a) Is this a satisfactory basis *for now* (in view of the preponderant interest in winning the war)?

(b) Is it a satisfactory basis *for post-war regulation*?

(c) What other basis could be found? What better basis? What worse?

6. If a "planned" economy such as the present one is preserved after the war, how are the "planners" to be controlled? How does it work now? What freedoms will there be—for whom? How much freedom is there now?

7. After the emergency is over is there any scheme that will secure full employment of all resources—as at present—without complete, or very wide-spread government regulation? If so, what is the difference between the problem in the emergency and the problem after? If not, what sacrifices have to be made to have such full employment of resources? Do you consider it worthwhile?

8. What is the essential difference between life under a dictatorship and life in a "planned" or "regulated" economy *as far as economic matters are concerned*? Other matters?

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CHAPTER III

PROBLEMS IN POST-WAR CANADA

PROBLEMS OF THE POST-WAR WORLD

THE LAST WAR came to be called "the war to end wars," but while we won the war, the victory turned out to be an empty one. The reason was that citizens and governments did not know enough to remove the causes of war. One of the causes of this war lay in our failure to solve the economic problems that have beset mankind. That problem is simply, how to give men freedom from fear *and* freedom from want. And one of the basic reasons for fear is economic insecurity—the fear of losing a job, or of being compelled to work long hours for small pay, the fear of losing one's savings or one's job through sickness, and all the other anxieties and uncertainties that beset the modern economic world. Germany, more than most countries, was afflicted by these fears in the years following the last war, and when the depression had run its course from 1929 to 1932 a fear-stricken people were ripe material for the propaganda of Hitler and the Nazis. Within a few years the entire nation had been deprived of all its democratic liberties, and its citizens had become more or less willing slaves to the war machine.

We often speak of this war as a war against aggression, and so it is. But much more important than that, it is a war between countries which hold entirely different ideas as to what kind of society we should try to build. On our side we want to remove the poverty and unemployment which plagued us in Canada, or the United States or Great Britain these last ten years. Moreover, we want to preserve the freedoms that make life worth living—the democratic right to elect our own government, freedom of speech and freedom from arbitrary arrest, freedom to join a union or a farm organization, freedom to choose our own job, and the freedom of all

nations to live their own lives without interference from outside. Fighting against us are three nations whose ruling powers deny every one of these ideals.

We, in Canada, had not attained these objectives by any means, when war broke out. We still held our political democracy intact, but the search for a means of providing economic democracy and economic security was still going on. Nevertheless, the idea that every man and woman had a right to these freedoms was becoming universally recognized.

One of the big questions that troubles people today is this: Is the war going to make the post-war task of finding a solution to our economic problems easier or more difficult than ever? If the people of the United Nations, after the war, have to muddle through another ten years of unemployment and poor standards of living we can expect trouble some time in the future, within each country, and between countries.

As a matter of fact, some people are already saying that the end of the war will produce mass unemployment and general depression. They point out that Canada can only put forth the greatest war effort by securing an enormous expansion of industrial plant. Consequently, by the end of the war, hundreds of thousands of people will be in the fighting forces, or working in war industries. But will not the end of the war mean that many of these people will lose their jobs? That the surplus of plant capacity will make business unprofitable? That wages and living conditions will suffer? That farm incomes will drop? And will not the expense of fighting a war leave every country impoverished?

THE OUTLOOK FOR THE POST-WAR PERIOD

As to the last question, the answer is, that economically speaking, the war is making our country stronger than ever. For the most part, our real resources of land, labour, equipment and technical experience will be greater than ever before. When victory is won, we shall be producing—as we are already—more food, more metals, more textiles and more machinery than Canada has ever

been able to produce. Most of the output will be used up in the war effort, or sent to our Allies, but the Nation's capacity to produce for the purpose of raising the standard of living will be increased. Indeed, many people have commented upon the fact that, despite the war effort, most families in, say, the Spring of 1942 were better off than they had been in ten or twelve years. In March, 1942, there were 62 per cent. more people employed than in 1939. Retail sales were much higher; so was construction. In total, we had a national income (i.e. the sum of all individual incomes) nearly 50 per cent. greater than the figure for 1939. True, a good deal of the increase had to be funnelled off into the government's hands by taxes and loan subscriptions. But this figure goes to prove that Canada is capable of producing far more goods and services than we had ever imagined. When the war is won we have to see that we find ways to keep up the level of production, and that we use our great productive powers to raise the standard of living. Whether or not we shall achieve this objective depends upon our own intelligence, and the intelligence of the political leaders and parties we place in authority, and upon the capacity of Canadians to co-operate in time of peace as they are doing in time of war.

POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION

Anyone who has been reading the newspapers diligently this last year or so will have noticed how widely held is the idea that one of the first duties of every government after the war will be to provide people with opportunities for employment, social security and a higher standard of living. People do not all agree on *how* this is to be done; but government leaders, trade unionists, service men and plain John Citizen all agree that we've got to make a better stab at this problem than we did in the past. And when they say "we," they mean the government of their choosing, in co-operation with every group able to help—business, labour, farmers, municipalities, Provinces—and, not least of all, in co-operation with other countries.

Here is one point from the Atlantic Charter, agreed to by Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt in August, 1941. The two governments declared that one of their principal post-war objectives was: "To bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security." Twenty-six other allied nations have also affirmed their adherence to this agreement.

The economic advisers to the governments of the United Kingdom and the United States seem generally agreed that most countries can, if they will, maintain business prosperity after the war. Here is what the U.S. National Resources Planning Board has to say:

We can keep industry going at high levels. We can maintain substantially full employment. We can achieve a society in which everyone capable of and willing to work can find an opportunity to earn a living, to make his contribution, to play his part as a citizen of a progressive, democratic country.

How is this to be done? The answer that is given by these advisers is that the Government must maintain purchasing power at the high level that has been achieved today. This does not mean that government must run the entire economic system; nor does it mean that governments need to spend anything like as much as they are spending today on the war effort. What it does mean, according to these views, is that it is a responsibility of government to see that the total volume of purchasing power—of earning and spending—is sustained. If that is done, there will be plenty of scope for private enterprise to produce goods and to employ people, plenty of opportunity for farmers and retailers to sell their products at reasonable prices.

One way to do this—the way our Government is doing it today—is to have the Government pay out money to the armed services and to the producers of munitions and supplies. These expenditures in turn mean more demand for raw materials and, when the workers spend their pay, more demands for food, clothing, shelter, entertainment and such. Consequently, purely private enterprises are

everywhere, just as active as those that are working for the government. Activity in one place makes for activity everywhere else.

No doubt the government will continue, after the war, to spend a good deal more than it did before the war. The hope is, that once it is recognized that no government will ever again allow a slump to happen, private spending by corporations and by individuals will expand. In this way, the circle of spending and earning and spending again, will be kept going, as it was in the first two years of the war in Canada, before the war effort cut into the available supply of civilian goods.

WILL THERE BE A SLUMP AFTER THE WAR?

Here are some of the reasons for thinking that it will be possible to maintain employment at a high level after the war. Some of them are part and parcel of the experiences of many nations in the pre-war days; some of them arise from our experiences under a war economy.

1. When the war is over, the Government is unlikely to demobilize the entire armed services, close down the munitions plants, and remove all the present economic controls. Canada will have to do its share in guaranteeing the peace, and government expenditures in these directions will probably be tapered off only gradually.

2. The people of Canada (and of other countries) will have been deprived of such goods as automobiles, radios, clothing, furniture, and decent housing for the latter years of the war. They will be anxious to buy these things, and manufacturing firms will be equally anxious to produce them to satisfy the demand. This additional production will absorb men and women from the armed services and the war industries, and will help to maintain the flow of spending.

3. Individuals and corporations will have a fair amount of savings to permit more spending and more production. They will have war savings certificates, bonds, cash in the bank, and claims for a refund of certain income tax (or profits tax) payments. The spending of these savings will stimulate business and may even, for a while, set off an unhealthy boom.

4. Certain kinds of private spending will probably be encouraged and perhaps subsidized by government. The best example of this is housing. Much of the existing housing accommodation in Canada is inadequate and unsatisfactory, and the number of houses available is far short of what is needed. Governments everywhere today recognize that decent housing should be available to all, and that it should be made easy for people to own houses or to rent good accommodation cheaply. Canada started to encourage home-building before the war, and can do much more to stimulate building (subsidies, low interest rates on mortgages, etc.) after the war. The jobs created by a housing programme could absorb tens of thousands of people into employment directly, and many more indirectly.

5. By a sharp reduction in some of the taxes that have been imposed during the war for the express purpose of reducing consumption, it will be possible to put more money in the hands of people, and to reduce prices so that their pay will buy more. Special excise taxes on durable goods (e.g. automobiles) or on luxuries, special import taxes and heavy income taxes can all be reduced. This proposal, like some of the others, will mean that our national budgets will be increasingly unbalanced. The deficiency will have to be financed by loans or by bank credits as we have been doing during the war. But if the money is put to uses which are socially beneficial we know that finance need be no obstacle so long as more production is possible. The war has at least taught us that lesson. If production and employment are high, the financial problem of governments solves itself almost.

6. It is almost universally admitted that our Dominion, Provincial and municipal governments should embark upon a broader programme of social welfare. This means that they will be required to do those things that the whole community needs if everyone is to have an assured minimum of decent living. It means more public health services, unemployment insurance, vocational training, more educational services, some kind of health insurance, perhaps family allowances to ease the burden of raising families, free school lunches, better nutrition, expanded provision for old age assistance and other such welfare activities.

7. Public works of all kinds will have been neglected during the war, and will need to be repaired, and new projects will have

to be undertaken. The European countries will need to reconstruct and rebuild their ruined cities. We may be lucky enough to escape their plight, but we could do with more and better roads, the modernizing of railways and railway equipment, more bridges, schools, and hospitals. We need to provide all farmers with electricity and to give them better roads. In Canada there is an urgent need for measures to conserve our natural resources, especially the forest, to open up new economic areas by means of transportation, to irrigate the dry areas and to control floods in others. Most of these enterprises are necessarily community or public works. All of them are recognized as the responsibility of government. If they were needed today to help win the war they would be undertaken. Canadians of all shades of opinion seem agreed that such necessary enterprises offer wide scope for employment after the war. Indeed, the Committee on Reconstruction, appointed by the Government of Canada, has recently recommended that the governmental bodies of Canada should begin now to prepare a "reserve" of Public Works Projects, which can be put into operation whenever any threat of unemployment appears.

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

One qualification to this argument must be made quickly. So far as Canada is concerned (and the same difficulty applies to other countries heavily dependent upon foreign trade) no sustained and general prosperity in the post-war world is possible unless there is a large volume of world trade. The United States could enjoy a reasonably good standard of living even if it had to dispense with nearly all exporting and importing. In that country, the exporting industries are relatively so small that the people engaged therein could be "carried" by the rest of the country if necessary. And, since the resources of the United States are so large and varied, any inability to import would not do serious harm. For Canada, however, nearly one-third of the total income and roughly the same proportion of employment comes from the export industries. The money obtained by exporting goods and services is in turn spent by Canada in buying abroad the things which this country cannot produce easily or cannot produce at all (rubber,

silk, cotton, oil, coffee, etc.). We can maintain our standard of living only by importing, and to pay for imports we must export. Or, looked at from another angle, Canada has hundreds of thousands of people dependent upon the sale abroad of wheat, fruit, hogs, lumber, newsprint, nickel, aluminum and such like. If they are to be prosperous, and to help keep the rest of us prosperous, they must keep their export markets intact after the war, and even find new ones. This means that Canada, along with other countries, must find a way to revive international trade.

Now the trend in the world before the war was away from free trade (the United States-Canada Trade Agreements were, of course, an exception). Germany's preparations for war were partly responsible for this state of affairs, but all countries shared some of the responsibility. Hence, we shall have to see that the intentions of the Atlantic Charter are really put into practice. One of these intentions is as follows: ". . . to further the enjoyment of all States, great or small . . . of access, on equal terms, to the trade and the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity." Indeed, more than that, Canada, along with the United States and with other countries able to help, must give every possible assistance, without worrying about repayment, to the stricken nations of Europe and the Far East. When they are fed and clothed, and their industrial systems have been restored to working order, the hundreds of millions of people concerned can begin to think of buying from and selling to the rest of us. The reconstruction of a world economy, like reconstruction at home, calls for sacrifices and co-operation if it is to succeed.

Conclusions. The answer to the question: "Can we turn the lessons of war economics to our advantage and provide better standards of living?" is therefore "Yes." But not a resounding "Yes"; a hesitant "Yes" is all that seems warranted when we contemplate the difficulties that still stand in our path.

First of all, there's the question: Where will Canadians get the spiritual drive and the unity of purpose which will be needed before we can tackle the job courageously? This high purpose

exists right now. That is why Canadians today are all willing to make every sacrifice that is necessary, and to sink their many differences in the common struggle against aggression. Can this same spirit be maintained after the war? Frankly, it will be no easy task. The spirit of sacrifice will be blunted and the flame of enthusiasm will begin to flicker as soon as the war is over, unless we can substitute a common goal at least as important to everyone as victory over our enemies in the field is important today.

The pursuit of economic freedom is not a simple matter. We all agree in paying lip-service to social ideals, but to bring them into existence is not easy. In the past, reform has meant sacrifices—necessarily unequal sacrifices. It has meant conflict of interests, and disputes over methods. “A decent living for everybody” is not the kind of goal that those who already have a good job commonly become enthusiastic about. In war, we are all threatened with a common danger. In time of peace, the loss of freedom from want does not appear to threaten everyone alike. If it did, mankind would have won the war against poverty and insecurity long since.

Secondly, the social objectives which have been sketched above will require the use of the concentrated intelligence, as well as the good will, of the whole community. Our political leaders and the administrative officials under them, together with the representatives of industrial workers and employers, farmers, and teachers, doctors and retailers, will have to participate in the task. As the war effort has shown, we are a long way from perfection in our arrangements for social and economic planning. The idea is still too new and our experience; still too slender. Under the democratic method—and we properly refuse to have it any other way—differences of opinion and conflicts of interest can delay our progress. Perhaps the biggest difference of opinion will arise concerning the agenda of government and private enterprise respectively. Unity of interest on this matter has not been easily achieved even in fighting the war. Business men have sometimes looked with suspicion and distrust upon the growing interference of government

in economic affairs; labour did not take easily to the ceiling on wages and the partial freezing of men to jobs; farmers have been worried about price ceilings; and nearly everyone at some time has questioned whether the tax burden was equitably distributed.

However, concerning the future role of government, the drift of events is unmistakable. The trend before the war was everywhere in the direction of more government management. The war has shown how efficient a managed economy can be. But the more completely our economy is managed the greater the danger to our political liberties. The people of Canada, like the people of every advanced industrial country, have yet to find the middle way along which we may find both security and liberty. Fortunately for the future, the record so far is not without promise.

SOME QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Mr. Parkinson suggests that a condition of full employment after the war will solve many of our major economic and social problems. Even before this war, the Nazis achieved virtual full employment, and during the war we have come close to that state. What would be the essential differences in the methods and purposes of Canada in seeking to achieve full employment in a post-war world?

2. Draw up a list of national projects that might be undertaken at the conclusion of the war to provide employment, and to add to the resources of the country and the welfare of its people. Which of these projects should come first on a priority list?

3. If we are to have the government playing a much greater part in our economic life after the war than before it, should this part be limited to the regulation of business and industry or should it take the form of increasing government ownership? If you feel that there should be both regulation and ownership, which enterprises should be merely regulated and which should be owned outright?

4. During the war many small industries are being closed because it is believed that large industries can make more efficient use of manpower and materials at a time when there is a great scarcity of both. Would it be economically more efficient and socially advisable to continue this trend after the war?

5. Can we keep alive the democratic spirit if we submit to more and more regulation and planning from the government? Can the individual initiative of the inventor and the craftsman and the pioneer and the industrial entrepreneur be exploited in a planned and regulated state? If you believe this initiative can be preserved, consider ways and means as to how it can be done.

6. We are wondering what to do with our tremendously increased industrial capacity in Canada. What sorts of things could we manufacture after the war in these new plants? Who will buy them? Will it be necessary for us to sell them

abroad? If so, what things will we be prepared to buy from other countries in exchange?

7. The suggestions for providing full employment in this essay would necessitate the maintenance of a very large civil service and a large body of administrators with great powers over our lives. Will we need to develop our political organization in ways which will assure the proper democratic control over the actions and decisions of these administrative officers? What should be their relation to Parliament?

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CHAPTER IV

THE SPECIAL OBLIGATIONS OF A CHRISTIAN IN A WORLD AT WAR

OUT OF the Book of Judges comes a classic expression of political and moral confusion: "Every man did that which was right in his own eyes." However appropriate such lack of common standards of right action may seem in frontier days, it is completely out-of-date in our world. Wartime produces a heightened sense of obligation. In every waking hour we are being urged to do our duty, whether behind the lathe, in the kitchen, or on the training field.

Most of these voices of duty are "secular"; that is, they are the counsels of human reason or express the concerns of national self-interest. But some of us are members, too, of a Christian community, partly local and contemporary in nature, but also world-wide and age-old. If we have grown up as active participants in this great religious movement with its distinctive outlook and traditions, what special obligations are laid upon us? How are our duties as citizens modified by the fact that we are Christians?

SHALL WE LEAVE RELIGION OUT?

A good case can be made for the point of view that it is better to keep religion out of the picture entirely: "Men and women are called upon to serve their country in wartime; what else matters? War is a tough business with its own stern rules for soldiers and civilians; it is better if not too many questions are raised. Religion is all right in its place, but you can't afford to mix it with war any more than with politics or business. Let's not get romantic about the aims of war or its methods. Keep the idealists out; they only confuse the issue." Few state this viewpoint so bluntly, but many follow it in practice.

Others, with a much more wholesome regard for religion, nevertheless agree reluctantly that Christianity should not be mixed up with war. They feel a deep conflict between making war and following One who has been hailed the Prince of Peace. The Christian way is too saintly for the kind of life they are called upon to lead. They can see no escape from going through the hell of war, but at least they can refuse to claim God's blessing for their actions. This war is something which they must see through with the hope that it will usher in a world where Christianity can again thrive. But they are giving up the Sermon on the Mount for the duration. They will meet their obligations in wartime as citizens, forgetting for the time being that they are Christians.

To lay all religious considerations aside in wartime would spare much hard thinking and eliminate many of the superficial interpretations of war in the name of religion that verge on hypocrisy. But this hands-off policy would be fatal to the deep Christian conviction that religion has something to do with all of life. We have been taught that God is the Lord of all, and that we should love Him with all our heart, mind, soul and strength. This is a total war, but ours is also a total religion. How, then, can we avoid the conclusion that our Christian faith has something distinctive to say about our duty in time of war?

NO SIMPLE OR SINGLE ANSWER

Almost at the other extreme, is the point of view of those who seek a simple formulation about war that will apply to all Christians. Without too much difficulty, they have figured out rather exactly what the obligations of a Christian are in a world at war. For some in both pulpit and pew, World War II is a holy war, a religious crusade. So deeply do they feel about the justice of the cause of the United Nations and the unspeakable tragedy of Nazi-Japanese victory, that they do not hesitate to invoke God's blessing on the undertakings of their armed forces. For them, the Christian's only special obligation is to fight well, and to produce

to the limit. Patriotism and Christianity in the present crisis are to them indistinguishable; God's purposes and the plans of the United Nations are practically identical.

There are others, with equal intensity of conviction and simplicity of analysis, who declare that this war is wholly of the Devil. Frequently they base their conclusion on Biblical texts or sectarian doctrines. Not only do they regard war as a gross evil, but they assert flatly that it is impossible for any Christian to take part in it.

The weakness of these categorical positions on war lies not in the definiteness of conviction, but in the attempt to lay down a single, dogmatic rule binding on all Christians. It is one thing to say, "God's will *for me* is to fight—or to refuse to fight"; it is quite another matter to make a simple generalization about war for all Christendom.

For it is in the nature of Christian ethics that an obligation must be deeply personal. The law of Christian duty is written upon the heart of an individual conscience; it is not the dictum of parson or priest. To be sure, this conscience must be nurtured by instruction and disciplined by experience; it is no erratic, subjective whim. But the Christian is to find the will of God through "walking by the Spirit," to use St. Paul's phrase; that is, through the inner guidance of the Spirit of God as revealed in Christ.

It is the thesis of this paper, then, that there is no easy clue to the special obligation of a Christian in time of war. There is no simple text in the Bible to turn to; there is no single answer acceptable to all Christians or to any representative gathering of Christian theologians. Not only do intelligent and sincere Christians differ on many specific questions about participation in war, but their minds may be changed with embarrassing rapidity as conditions change. This lack of clear-cut moral judgment is not without its advantages. It generates a spirit of humility that provides a basis for Christian fellowship beneath the differences. Uneasiness of conscience about war is itself perhaps a mark of a genuinely Christian spirit. Says Professor John Knox:

I believe it will be obvious to all who have been reared in a Christian culture that the non-pacifism which feels no qualm or question about itself can scarcely be Christian; and, although it is less obvious or, at any rate, less frequently said, I venture also to believe that the Christian character of the pacifism which is conscious of no doubts or misgiving about itself is equally dubious.¹

The Christian is sensitive to the limitations of his best efforts to do what seems right in a given situation. No matter what conclusion he reaches about his duty, some values are likely not to be served by his decision. To live in the world, yet not be "of the world," inevitably involves tension between the ideal and the real.

BASIC ELEMENTS OF CHRISTIAN DUTY

Resolutely and with clear minds, then, we must seek those special obligations which are laid upon one who is trying earnestly to be true to his Christian faith in a world at war. We are looking for basic elements so surely a part of the Christian tradition that men who differ sharply on the question of pacifism may agree and that even sincere Christians on both sides of the battle lines may find essential unity.

1. *It is a Christian obligation in a world at war that one should maintain faith in God.* This may seem a truism, but it is the centre and source of any specific action in wartime that deserves the name of Christian. This affirmation of faith involves both an interpretation of the world scene and a personal experience of God's availability to the individual. God is not an Olympian deity watching above the battle, nor a vague projection of the human mind. The God of Jesus Christ is an all-encompassing Reality, in whom we live and move and have our being, a Creative Spirit at work in the world today in ways we can only dimly fathom. It is not His will that one of these little ones should perish; yet He has so made the world that disasters like a war happen when certain conditions are not fulfilled by men, as surely as explosions occur in the laboratory when careless or malicious students handle chemicals. It is my obligation as a Christian to keep my eyes and

¹ John Knox, "Re-examining Pacifism," *Religion and the Present Crisis*. (University of Chicago Press, Chicago: 1942), pp. 30-31.

ears open constantly to understand more fully the meaning of this world struggle and to discover what God's purpose is for the world and for me. This is more than an intellectual quest; it is a reaching out for spiritual resources, for the strength to carry on in spite of a physical hardship or moral temptation. In the conviction that God is a Living Reality who commands me to do His will, I can stand up against the din of battle, the drabness of a lonely outpost, the frustration of a prisoners' camp, or the ridicule of friends who do not share my viewpoint regarding war. Whether or not I wear a uniform, I undergo discipline as a "good soldier of Jesus Christ." The cosmic Determiner of Destiny is also *my* God, "a very present help in time of trouble."

2. *It is a Christian obligation in a world at war that one should maintain fellowship with other Christians.* The efforts of a Christian to be true to the faith of his fathers, even until death, is not a solitary adventure; it takes place within a fellowship of kindred spirits. This is both the visible church or Y.M.C.A. of one's local community and the great company of men and women of diverse lands and creeds who are bound together in the Church Universal. Wherever even two or three are gathered in the spirit of Christ for discussion and prayer—in chapel or barracks or quiet open spaces—there is a "cell" of the larger Christian community. Sometimes these small groups seem like little islands of sanity and security within a roaring sea. The knowledge that these islands are connected by links of rock now submerged, adds to the consciousness of fellowship. In this association of Christians, whether face to face or far separated, the individual finds both strength and wisdom for daily duty.

This world-wide community of Christians, rising above national frontiers and all other barriers that ordinarily keep men apart, is not a mere ideal or vision; it has become in crisis even more of a reality. When all other international associations have been torn apart by war, Christians are keeping open the channels of communication and refusing to give up the universality of the Gospel. In the years immediately preceding the outbreak of war, these bonds of Christian community were so closely knit that no catastrophe can wholly sever them. If space permitted, one could present numerous illustrations of how Christian leaders have held to the resolve of the Oxford Conference in 1937, in which all nations now at war were represented:

"If war breaks out, then preeminently the church must manifestly be the church, still united as the one body of Christ, though the nations wherein it is planted fight one another, consciously offering the same prayers that God's name may be hallowed, His Kingdom come, and His will be done in both, or all, the warring nations. This fellowship of prayer must at all costs remain unbroken. The church must also hold together in one spiritual fellowship those of its members who take different views concerning their duty as Christian citizens in time of war."

Within the fabric of this Christian community there are diversities of pattern—creed, colour, political viewpoint, economic status, military rank, national origin; but it is the duty and privilege of each Christian to recognize the threads of common faith and loyalty which bind these diverse elements together in an enduring fellowship.

3. *It is the obligation of a Christian in a world at war to keep free from personal hatred.* The recognition that God is one and that men around the world are akin gives a perspective to war that makes a difference in one's attitude toward the "enemy." Even when moral and religious considerations are left out of account, it is doubtful wisdom to whip up hatred among soldiers or civilians in order to carry on war with the vigour supposedly necessary for victory. John Foster Dulles, outstanding international lawyer, calls it a superstition to rely on hatred and vengeance to produce fervour:

"I would as readily base sustained effort on the use of drugs and alcohol as I would on the cultivation of hatred and vengeance. The fervour those emotions produce is spurious, and stimulants which produce it are false stimulants. They burn up the moral fibre of a people; they do not produce a type of will which is persistent; they build up external resistance which makes victory more difficult to attain; and they render victory illusory if it is finally achieved."¹

Whatever the opinions of propaganda experts and military strategists may be on this point, from the standpoint of the Christian ethic the proposition that hatred is justified under certain circumstances is not debatable. Hatred of a system; indignation against wrongdoers—Yes! But passionate enmity

¹From the opening address at the National Study Conference at Delaware, Ohio, in March, 1942, of the Federal Council of Churches' Commission on a Just and Durable Peace, of which Mr. Dulles is chairman.

toward persons and ruthless treatment of human life—Never! A Christian who is caught in the meshes of war takes part more in sorrow than in anger; he refuses to stoop to the level of brutality, no matter how harrowing the conduct of the enemy may be. He recognizes that many of those who oppose him are caught too in a situation not of their own choosing from which they see no escape. He is unwilling to generalize about the wickedness of all people in a given nation. He realizes in his calmer moments that no stable peace can ever be built upon wholesale mistrust and national self-righteousness. Whether one can actually “love” his enemies in mortal combat is open to question; but evidence is at hand that men and women can go through the terrific experiences of war without having their souls seared by personal hatred.

4. *It is the obligation of a Christian in a world at war to prepare to meet the problems and needs of the world after the war.* Never before in wartime was so much careful attention given to planning for the post-war world. The volume of books and pamphlets available for study in this field is growing steadily. The special contribution that the Christian can make here is not expertness on economic and political proposals, but preparation of mind and attitude. The historic Christian outlook on life prevents one from being naive about human nature or unduly optimistic about the achievement of social goals. He knows the resistance to change of which individuals and institutions are capable. He knows how easy it will be to slip back into old patterns of thought and behaviour when the war is over. He is aware, even now, of the hard-boiled and short-sighted view of many at home and in the armed forces, who are looking only for vengeance on the enemy and a chance to return to normality.

To the Christian this period of war and post-war reconstruction has revolutionary possibilities. The coloured races and colonial peoples of the world may come out of this conflict with a greater measure of dignity and freedom. The economic resources of the earth may be more equitably distributed. The sovereign power of nations and empires may be curtailed in the interest of some form of regional and world federation. But these social gains are by no means assured, even by a victory for the United Nations. It will take all the resources of religion, as well as of education and diplomacy, to get men ready for the adjustments and sacrifices entailed in a “people’s revolution.” As F. Ernest Johnson has written:

“Renunciation of power is not characteristic of humans. It is preeminently the province of religion to discipline the souls of men in the surrender of power and privilege. Only the heat of a universal human fellowship can melt the pride of nations.”¹

Young men and women in Canada and the United States have a particular responsibility in the years ahead, because their countries will have much to say about the kind of post-war social order that is to be built. They cannot look forward to a normal world for many years to come. The “duration” for which they have enlisted, from the standpoint of Christian purposes, is longer than they imagined. Many of these young people are looking forward with almost missionary zeal to the part they may play as Christians in social reconstruction. It is this hope of winning the peace that helps to sustain them in the tragic days of destructive warfare.

5. *Finally, it is the obligation of a Christian in a world at war to demonstrate now in daily relationships the faith which he professes.* St. Augustine in his Confessions tells how he used to pray as a youth, attracted by the pleasures of a profligate city, “O Lord, make me pure,” and then add under his breath, “but not yet.” It is easier to speculate about how Christianity may be applied in the future on a world scale than to work out the implications of Christian faith for me here and now. We tend constantly to overlook the opportunities for quiet, unspectacular expression of our Christian convictions. Men who are deprived of normal social contacts and controls tend to “cut loose” with drinking, gambling, and sexual relations. But army life with all its rigours and ribaldry presents no insuperable obstacles to the man who is determined that his speech shall be clean and his respect for personality unshakable. When the future is uncertain, it is all the more important to cherish the simple values of family life and personal integrity. Few of us can change the world, but each individual has areas within his control where he can determine what shall be said and done. Wherever relationships among persons are involved—on street-corner, on shore leave, during lunch hour in the shop, in care of the wounded—there is an opportunity for putting our Christian beliefs into practice. “Why call ye me Lord, Lord, and do not the things that I say?”

¹*The Intercollegian*, January, 1941, p. 52.

Relief measures both for our allies and in enemy countries take on special significance in this connection. There are so many calls today for the Good Samaritan that no one in more favoured circumstances can fail to be stirred by the mounting tide of human need. Not only will the Christian support worthy causes which gain popular approval, but he is especially obligated to aid those who are likely otherwise to be overlooked: people of other races, children in occupied countries, prisoners of war, families who are suffering for conscience' sake. Binding up wounds in wartime has a significance even beyond the saving of human life. It opens the way to reconciliation; it demonstrates the reality of forgiveness and uncalculating good will; it lays a foundation of trust and sympathy that is an antidote for the poison of war. No one can measure the importance for the future of work being carried on in a Christian spirit like that of the Church Committee for China Relief, the American Friends Service Committee, the Y.M.C.A. Prisoners of War Aid, the World Student Service Fund.

Incomplete as this list of special Christian obligations may be, it suggests unmistakably that *being a Christian in wartime makes a difference*. A dim-out of Christian faith would be the greatest casualty of the war. The Christian must make moral judgments for himself, even though he is unwilling to pass judgment upon his neighbour who reaches a different conclusion. He should act without rancor or self-righteousness; but he must act. Quakers and Mennonites conceive of their role in the war differently from the majority of Christians; but they, too, are active participants in the world struggle according to their convictions. For the Christian in a world at war there can be no neutrality, no withdrawal, no isolation; there can be neither cynicism nor despair nor the glorifying of war, but a sober commitment of life to God and His Kingdom of the Common Good, regardless of sacrifices, "strengthened with power through His Spirit in the inward man."

SOME QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. If one regards the position of any Christian regarding war as subject to limitations, what does this imply? Does it imply that there is no "right"? Or that no human mind can have a complete grasp of what is right?

2. What kind of message shall we expect from our ministers and chaplains in wartime?

3. In what respects does the Christian attitude toward a conscientious objector go beyond toleration or the granting of civil liberties?

4. If a Christian prays for the victory of his side in the struggle, what qualifications, if any, should he make?

5. Does good morale demand that one shall become "tough" morally and emotionally as well as physically?

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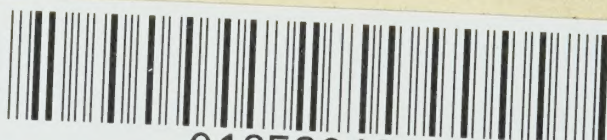
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